THE ROMAN HISTORY.

BOOK I.

THE ROMAN MONARCHY

A. U. 1.——245.
A. C. 753.——508.*

CHAPTER I.

Origin of the Romans—Romulus—Numa Pompilius.

A. U. 1—82.

THE Voyage of Æneas from the shores of Asia to those of Italy, has been consecrated by the muse of Virgil. But, though the Latin writers unanimously concur, in claiming their descent from (1) the Trojan prince, some ancient critics have limited the enterprizes of that hero to the coast of Thrace. According to the general opinion, however, Æneas, who (2) was supposed to be the son of Venus and Anchises, (3) in hope of obtaining a settlement, and (4) escaping from the flames of Troy, set sail with a small party of his countrymen, and, after meeting with a variety of adventures, arrived in Italy, where he was (5) hospitably received by Latinus, king of the country, who gave him his daughter Lavinia in marriage. A. M. This drew upon him the resentment of Turnus, 2294.

* A. U. is put for *Anno Urbis*, in the year of the city; and A. C. for *Ante Christum*, before Christ.

king of the Rutuli, to whom Lavinia had been promised before the arrival of the Trojan prince. A war, therefore, ensued between the two nations, in which both Turnus and Latinus were slain; and Æneas, (6) succeeding his father-in-law on the throne, (7) built a city, which he called Lavinium, in honor of his wife. His good fortune, however, (8) was not of long continuance; for, entering, soon after, into another war with Mezentius, a petty king of a neighbouring district, and coming to an engagement, he gained the victory, but lost his life. (9) He was succeeded by his son Ascanius, who built Alba Longa. (10) The succession continued in this family nearly four hundred years. (11) The last king was Numitor, who was dethroned by Amulius, his younger brother; and, (12) in order to secure himself in his ill-gotten power, the usurper put to death his brother's son Ægestus; and deprived (13) his only daughter Ilia, or Rhea Sylvia, of all hopes of posterity, by appointing her one of the vestal virgins. (14) His barbarous policy, however, failed of its effect. (15) The lady soon became the mother of twin-brothers, Romulus and Remus, whose reputed father, in that credulous age, was the god Mars. These two children, (16) being thrown into the Tiber by order of Amulius, were preserved by Faustulus, (17) one of the king's shepherds, who educated them as his own offspring. (18) When they knew their real origin, they put Amulius to death, and restored the crown of Alba to (19) their grandfather Numitor.

(20) They afterwards undertook to build a city; but fraternal affection was overwhelmed by rival ambition, and the lust of undivided sway. (21) Romulus killed Remus, and collected (22) a multitude of fugitives, foreigners, and criminals, whom he received as his lawful subjects. About a thousand thatched huts, hastily and rudely constructed, proclaimed the poverty and simplicity of their inhabitants. They were encompassed by a deep and wide trench, and surrounded by a wall of clay and wood. The name of the new city, or village, was borrowed

A. M. 3252.

from that of the founder; and the name of Romulus has been blended with the glory of Rome. (23) To assist in the government, a hundred of the most experienced persons were chosen, (24) who from their age were called Senators, and from their authority Fathers. A. C. 752.

But however numerous this colony might be, (25) they were despised by the neighbouring inhabitants, and none were willing to form matrimonial connections with them. The Sabines, (26) the most warlike people in Italy, had territories adjoining to Rome, and as they were very populous, (27) Romulus sent messengers to their chiefs, desiring to conclude an alliance with them, on condition that they would suffer their daughters to marry the young men in the new city. The Sabines received the proposal with disdain, and treated the persons who brought it with peculiar marks of disrespect.

No sooner had the messengers communicated the answer of the Sabines to Romulus, and intimated in what manner they had been treated, than he resolved to take ample revenge, and at the same time promote the interest of his new colony. He ordered a proclamation to be made throughout all the neighbouring villages, that he was to celebrate (28) a feast to Neptune, who, by his sovereign power, presided over the seas. Pleasure is of a bewitching nature; for though the Sabines hated the Romans, yet they were among the first who honored the feast with their company. (29) They brought their wives and daughters with them, in order to partake of the entertainment, and the Romans treated them with every mark of respect as well as hospitality. This, however, was only a pretence to cover their real design.

In the mean time the games began; and (30) while the eyes of the strangers were fixed upon the show, a number of Roman youths rushed into the assembly sword in hand, seized the youngest and most beautiful women, and instantly carried them off. In vain did the parents protest against this breach of hospitality,

in vain did the virgins themselves oppose the attempts of their ravishers. Romulus was indefatigable in soothing and consoling them. He said, (31) that he intended them no violence; that they had nobody to blame but their fathers, who had scornfully and cruelly rejected his proposals; he therefore entreated them to be pacified, and to surrender their hearts to those whom fortune had put in possession of their persons; and in order more effectually to reconcile them to their fate, he caused them to be immediately married to those who had carried them off.

(32) A most bloody war ensued; but (33) Romulus, in the end, became triumphant over all his enemies. (34) In such of the towns as he conquered, he placed colonies of his own subjects, partly to enlarge the power of the commonwealth, and partly to prevent the neighbouring nations from making inroads into his dominions. It signifies little to spread devastation throughout every part of the habitable world, and lay whole kingdoms waste, unless the intention of the hero is to make the people more happy than they were before. But this did not occupy the attention of Romulus, whose only anxiety was, to secure from depredation the territory he had acquired by conquest.

Many of the Sabine princes considered the conduct of the Romans as the highest indignity that could have been offered to them as free-born subjects, and (35) Tatius, king of Cures, one of the Sabine cities, entered the Roman territories, at the head of a large body of men. Tatius was a man of courage, but to courage he was obliged to add stratagem. While he was ruminating in his mind how to execute his scheme, (36) he approached the gates of the city, when Tarpeia, daughter of the commander of the Capitoline-hill, came without the walls to draw water. Having promised her the bracelets which the soldiers wore upon their arms, he prevailed on her to conduct his men into the city. Mercenary, however, as she was, her reward was given to her in a manner she little expected: for (37) when the soldiers entered the city, they threw

down their bucklers in such numbers, that they fell upon her, and she was crushed to death. Thus may we see in what manner ingratitude and perfidy are generally rewarded.

After several skirmishes, it was proposed that the war should be terminated by a general engagement. For some time the battle was renewed with equal vigour on both sides, and such was the antipathy that each party bore to the other, that it was not decided for several days. Life, liberty, and property, were the objects they had in view; so that there is not the least reason to doubt but they would exert themselves in the most vigorous manner.

While both parties were endeavouring to destroy each other by the sword, those who had been the innocent occasion of all the mischief stept forth as the most powerful mediators. (38) The Sabine women, who were now the wives of the Romans, and who loved their husbands from motives of natural affection, coming into the camp with their hair dishevelled, cried out, "since you are resolved upon slaughter, turn your swords against us! we are the cause of your contention; if both our husbands and our parents are destroyed, of what value to us is life?" (39) Both sides were now so moved, that they instantly let fall their arms; and affection triumphed over passion and resentment. It was agreed that (40) Romulus and Tatius should reside in Rome, and rule with joint authority; (41) that as many of the Sabines as were willing to follow their king should be incorporated into the tribes and curiæ; that the city should still retain its ancient name; but that the Romans should hereafter be distinguished by that of Quirites, an appellation which had been long peculiar to the Sabines; and that the latter should be admitted to all offices both civil and religious. By the accession of their new associates, the colony was augmented to near double the number of its original inhabitants; the senate also was increased by a hundred members chosen from the most noble of the Sabines; and (42) the institution of knights formed a

third order of citizens, who occupied a middle space between the patricians and the plebeians.

Weak indeed were the first attempts of these people whom the divine Being had decreed should extend their conquests in future ages over great part of the world. (43) By degrees they rose to grandeur, like some small stream which however inconsiderable at the source, by the accession of many neighbouring springs, becomes at last a noble expanse of water bearing on its bosom the produce of every quarter of the globe. Whatever seemed to retard their progress to universal empire only served to promote it; and those, who at first were their professed enemies, became their real friends.

(44) Tatius being killed, about five years after, in a tumult at Lavinium, Romulus, once more sole monarch, attempted to make himself absolute, and neglected to consult the senate. (45) Towards the conclusion of his reign that assembly was reduced to a shadow of authority; nor were the spirits of the members more wounded by his pride, than their lives were endangered by his arbitrary administration of justice. He soon experienced, however, that no precautions could shield him from the resentment of those whom he had presumed to injure. Though the circumstances of his fate are involved in obscurity, yet (46) it is unanimously agreed, that he sunk beneath the tumultuous rage of the senate. The moment their fury subsided, (47) his murderers, dreading the vengeance of the multitude, concealed beneath their robes, and privately conveyed away, his mangled remains. A furious tempest that arose at the same instant was dexterously improved by their ingenuity: (48) it was asserted, that Romulus was surrounded by flame, and suddenly conveyed in a whirlwind from earth to heaven: he was afterwards reported to have appeared to Proculus, a senator, who had long shared his friendship, and who still commanded the confidence of the people. The artful tale was industriously propagated, and readily believed (49) divine honors were decreed to the new deity, and

the senate were content to adore as a god, him, whom they could no longer endure as a king. Romulus lost his life in the 37th year of his reign, and the 55th of his age. Assassination, however, is a horrid crime, which nothing can justify.

After an interregnum of a year, (50) Numa Pompilius succeeded Romulus in the government. This prince did not possess the military abilities of his predecessor, but was in high reputation for his probity and civil virtues. A. U. 38.

(51) He gave a proper check to the warlike ardour of this new state, by inspiring the people with a respect for the laws, and a reverence for the gods. He set them an example of piety, justice, and moderation, by the most exemplary life. He regulated the year, and gave the months January and February the first place in the Roman calendar. He encouraged agriculture by dividing the land among the poorer sort of subjects, whom he obliged to live together in a friendly manner. His conduct was consistent with his precepts. He was in every respect the father of his people, and he reigned as an object of love in their hearts. All the laws he made tended to promote the interest and happiness of his subjects, and he left a nation of barbarians so far civilized, as to live together in society like rational creatures. (52) After a reign of 43 years, he died, greatly lamented, not only by the Romans, but by all the neighbouring nations. A. U. 81.

(53) History has held forth to us the brilliant characters of Alexander and Cæsar; but what were they in comparison of Numa Pompilius? They destroyed kingdoms; he formed one. Wherever they came, they spread desolation; but this great man made laws to preserve his people. In a word, his character was the most illustrious that can be imagined, and will be imitated by every sovereign, who wishes to promote the happiness of his people, and to acquire immortal fame.

CHAPTER II.

Tullus Hostilius—Ancus Martius—Tarquinius Priscus.

A. U. 82.—176.

(54) A WISE legislator is often succeeded by one, who, (55) instead of cultivating the arts of peace, aspires to the name of a conqueror, and lays whole nations waste, in order to gratify an ambitious passion.

A. U. 82. Tullus Hostilius, the successor of Numa Pompilius, (56) was descended from one of the most eminent families in Rome, and (57) particularly distinguished by his martial genius. He took delight in arms, not with a view to national advantage, but to render himself glorious. So weak is the human mind, unless directed by solid reason and good sense.

(58) The Albans, having committed some depredations on the Roman territory, Tullus declared war against them; but when both parties took the field (59) it was agreed to decide the contest by three combatants on each side. The Albans named the Curiatii, three brothers, for their champions. The three sons of Horatius were chosen for the Romans.

(60) The treaty being concluded, the three brothers on each side, arrayed themselves in armour, according to agreement. Each side exhorts their respective champions, representing to them, that their gods, their parents, and their country, now fixed their eyes on their arms and valour. The generous combatants, intrepid in themselves, and animated by such exhortations, marched forth, and stood between the two armies. The armies placed themselves before their respective camps. The signal is given. The combatants engage, and shew themselves inspired with that intrepidity which renders them totally insensible to their own danger. They have nothing in view but the slavery or

liberty of their country, whose destiny depends upon their conduct.

At the first onset, the clashing of their armour, and the terrific gleam of their swords, filled the spectators with fear and trepidation; but when it came to a close engagement, the motion of their weapons, the furious agitation of their bodies, the open wounds and streaming blood, excited such a sense of horror that the faculty of speech and breath seemed totally suspended, while victory still remained doubtful.

At length, two of the Romans fell, and expired at the feet of the Albani, who were all three wounded. Upon their fall, the Alban army shouted for joy, while the Roman legions remained without hope, but not without anxiety for the surviving Roman, then surrounded by three adversaries. Happily he was not wounded; but, not being a match for three, though superior to any of them singly, he had recourse to a stratagem for dividing them. He betook himself to flight, concluding they would follow him at unequal distances, as their strength, after so much loss of blood, would permit.

Having fled a considerable way from the spot where they fought, he looked back, and saw the Curiatii pursuing at a considerable distance from each other, and one of them very near upon him. He turned with all his fury; and while the Alban army were crying out to his brothers to succour him, Horatius, who had already slain the first enemy, rushed forward to a second victory.

The Romans encourage their champion by such acclamations as generally proceed from unexpected success. He hastens to put an end to the second combat, and slew another, before the third, who was not far off, could come up his assistance.

There now remained only one combatant on each side. The Roman, who had received no hurt, and was fired by gaining a double victory, advances with great confidence to this third combat. His antagonist, on the other hand, being weakened by loss of blood, and

spent with running so far, could scarcely move; and, being already dispirited by the death of his brothers, presents his throat to the victor. "Two," says the exulting Roman, "I have already sacrificed to the manes of my brothers;—the third I will offer up to my country, that henceforth Rome may give laws to Alba." Upon which he transfixed him with his sword, and, as he lay gasping on the ground, stripped him of his armour. The Romans received Horatius into their camp with exultation as great as their former fear. After this, (61) each party buried their respective dead, but with very different sentiments; the one reflecting on the sovereignty they had acquired, and the other on their subjection to the power of the Romans*.

When young Horatius, named Marcus, approached the gates of Rome, loaded with the spoils of his vanquished antagonists, he was met by his sister, who had been promised in marriage to one of the Curiatii, and who, forgetting the delicacy of her sex, had anxiously mingled with the crowd of applauding spectators. (62) On seeing her brother cloathed in an embroidered robe, which she had wrought for her lover, and in which he was to have been dressed on their nuptial day, she burst into tears; she wildly tore her hair; and in the anguish of her heart, keenly reproached the exulting conqueror with the murder of his near kinsman, and her intended bridegroom.

(63) Horatius, inflamed with success, now committed a crime, which must ever remain a disgrace to humanity. He stabbed his sister dead upon the spot; and while he plunged the sword, still stained with the blood of her lover, into the bosom of the unfortunate Horatia, he indignantly exclaimed, "Thus, let every Roman perish who laments the death of an enemy of Rome."

(64) As the grandeur of Rome was established on the inflexible patriotism of her people, (65) the feelings of the parent and the brother were swallowed up in the obdurate pride of the citizen. (66) The bloody act

* Livy.

of Horatius was approved and justified by his father. (67) But the offender still lay open to the insulted laws of his country; and (68) his judges decreed that he should atone for his crime by death. From their sentence he appealed to the assembly of the people. Their judgment was dazzled by the lustre of his late victory; and Horatius was allowed to expiate his sanguinary and unnatural offence, (69) by submitting to the ignominious condition of passing under the yoke, a disgrace to which prisoners of war, who had abjectly surrendered their arms, were exposed.

(70) In a short time, the Albans again rebelled, and were defeated by Tullus, who razed the city of Alba to the ground, after it had flourished 487 years. He at the same time, transplanted the inhabitants into Rome, and granted them all the privileges of citizens.

(71) But the monarch, who commanded the submission of his enemies, could not acquire the affection of his subjects. (73) A life of incessant warfare was terminated by a violent death; and (74) the multitude ascribed the fate of Tullus and his family to the immediate effects of lightning, and the offended majesty of Jupiter. (72) He reigned 32 years.

(75) Ancus Martius, who succeeded on the death of Tullus, (76) encouraged agriculture as the best means of making a nation happy. He likewise increased commerce, by establishing a port at (77) Ostia, ten miles distant from Rome, at the mouth of the river Tiber. But, notwithstanding his pacific disposition, the outrages of (78) the Latins forced him into a war. (79) His success was equal to the justice of his cause; for as he had been obliged to take up arms in defence of his people, so before he sheathed the sword, he brought his enemies into subjection. To be engaged in a good cause, is an animating consideration. It inspires courage. But the hero who takes the fields from no motives of revenge, but merely to support the dignity and promote the interest of his fellow citizens, will be crowned with laurels of glory to the latest period of time. All the neighbouring A. U. 115.

nations became tributary to the victorious conqueror, who spent the remainder of his days in enriching his subjects and improving the city. (80) He reigned 24 years, and left two sons behind under the care of (81) Lucius Tarquinius, who afterwards succeeded him on the throne by the name of Tarquinius Priscus.

A. U. 138. (12) Lucius Tarquinius Priscus, whose original name was Lucumo, had nothing to recommend him but (83) his merit; but (84) merit was a powerful recommendation in Rome, where no other quality was considered as essential in constituting the character of one, who aspired at the highest offices in the state. He was the son of a Corinthian merchant, who had settled at Tarquinium and assumed the name of Tarquin. As he was a stranger, (85) he created a hundred new senators, whom he chose from the most distinguished plebeian families, in order to strengthen his authority in the senate, and attach the people to his interest. (86) Grecian magnificence and elegance began now to be introduced into Rome. (87) The works which Tarquin erected (88) became the admiration of future ages, and remain to this day monuments of Roman grandeur. The common sewers were of such magnitude, that a waggon loaded with hay might pass under the vaults *.

When Tarquin began to advance in years, he devolved on (89) Servius Tullius, (90) the son of a captive, the whole care of his government. (91) He even gave him his daughter in marriage, and was paving the way for making him his successor. This enraged (92) the two sons (93) of Ancus Martius, who were still alive. They thought it very hard, that, after having been excluded from the throne in favour of Tarquin himself, they should now be excluded from it a second time in favour of his son-in-law, who was sprung from a bond-woman. They therefore determined to make away with Tarquin and Servius, and to begin with the former as the more powerful of the

two, and the most capable of defeating their views upon the throne by perhaps choosing another son-in-law, and making him his successor. (94) The better to execute their bloody purpose, they disguised two of their attendants in the habit of peasants. Upon approaching the palace-gate with hatchets on their shoulders, they pretended to quarrel, and not being able to settle the matter between themselves, they demanded to be carried into the royal presence, in order to obtain justice. Kings were then very easy of access, and decided most causes, and even petty disputes, in person. When brought before the king, they still continued, agreeable to their character, to accuse each other, and it was with much difficulty they were prevailed on to speak by turns. One of them at last began to explain the cause of his complaint; and while the king was attentively listening to him, the other struck his hatchet into his head, and leaving it in the wound, they both endeavoured to fly. They were seized, however, and immediately put to death. The king's attendants had just time to remove him into another apartment before he expired.

Amidst the general confusion, queen (95) Tanaquil alone, the widow of the deceased monarch, seemed to possess that presence of mind, which the emergency required. She prevailed on the crowd to retire from the palace, and (96) summoned to her councils her daughter Tarquinia, her son-in-law Servius, and his mother Ocrisia. In the doubtful situation of affairs, it was resolved that Tanaquil should shew herself to the multitude; should assuage their fears by representing the wound of the king as far from mortal; and should accustom them to the authority of Servius, by adding that Tarquin, till he should be able again to appear in public, had delegated to his son-in-law the administration of justice and the royal power. The people readily believed the information they had received from Tanaquil, and for several days Servius continued to appear on the throne as the representative of Tarquin. Clothed in the royal robes, and surrounded by lictors,

he listened to the complaints of the Romans; and laboured to attach their affections (97) by his modesty and lenity. At length the curtain was removed. The death of Tarquin was announced as an event that had instantly taken place. (98) His funeral was graced by magnificent obsequies; and his son-in-law, having established himself by his clemency and affability in the hearts of the people, continued to hold the reins of government which he had assumed.

A. U. 176.

CHAPTER III.

Servius Tullius—Tarquinius Superbus.

A. U. 176.—245.

THERE is a certain strength of genius in some legislators, which bears down even the strongest opposition, and by an exertion of the powers of the understanding, strikes at the root of human prejudices.

A. U. 176.

Servius Tullius was sensible of the weakness of the human mind, and therefore, (99) in order to prevent conspiracies against his government, on account of new regulations, (100) he procured an order from the senate, by which all the men were to assemble in the field, called *Campus Martius*, once in five years, armed, as if they had been going to take the field against the common enemy. On such occasions, every master of a family was obliged to give an account of the number of people whom he had under him, and, at the same time, an inventory of his real and personal estate.

Two of the grandsons of Tarquinius were still alive, and (101) as Servius had settled peace and concord in his dominions, he gave them his two daughters in marriage, intending at the same time to resign the regal authority, and spend the remainder of his days in retirement. But all his hopes were frustrated by the very means that he thought would accomplish them.

(102) One of his sons-in-law was of a violent and domineering temper, while the other was gentle, affable, and condescending. His own daughters were similar in the whole of their conduct, and therefore, in order to balance their tempers, he joined the mild and the ferocious together; Lucius, the haughty son-in-law, could not endure the mild temper of his wife, and having placed his affections on Tullia, the consort of his brother, she encouraged his addresses, and at length murdered her husband, while Lucius committed the same crime on his wife. The guilty lovers were soon after married, but an union contracted by such violent means, could not be supposed to last long; for those who plunge themselves into crimes in defiance of every moral obligation, are generally led on to the commission of such wickedness, that they know not where to stop.

The murder of their respective consorts was followed with a design to seize on the sovereignty, and for that purpose (103) Lucius raised several factions among the young nobility, by telling them that he was heir to the crown, in consequence of his being descended from Tarquinius. (104) The king was no stranger to his son-in-law's machinations, and having ingratiated himself with the senate, he took such measures to secure his own safety, that he brought Lucius to an acknowledgment of his guilt, and made him glad to implore pardon, which was granted by the king in the most generous manner.

(105) This conduct of Lucius, however, was only feigned, in order to watch for a more favourable opportunity to accomplish his designs; and in these schemes, (106) he was much encouraged by his wife Tullia. The young senators he brought over to his interest by gifts and promises, while he gained the affections of the old ones, by putting them in mind of the many favours that his grandfather had heaped upon them. By these means his party continued to increase every day, till at last (107) Lucius pulling off the mask, went to the senate-house adorned with all

the ensigns of royalty, and made a long speech concerning the legality of his title as the grandson of Tarquinius. He did not neglect at the same time to represent Servius as an usurper of obscure birth, who had no right to govern so brave a people as the Romans.

When he had harangued the senate for some time, Servius, who had received intimation of his design, came into the assembly, and ascending the throne, attempted to push the haughty young man down the steps. But age and infirmities were obliged to give way to youthful vigour, and (108) the younger senators, who had been previously instructed by Lucius, followed the king out of the senate-house, and dispatched him in the street. Such was the end of Servius Tullius, a prince of great abilities, and well qualified to govern a rude people. He was not so much intent upon enlarging the bounds of his kingdom, as in securing what he already possessed; being perfectly sensible that the members might become too large for the head. He seems to have studied human nature, and to have made himself master of those springs of action in the heart, from which both virtues and vices flow.

A. U. 220.

A. U. 220. (109) Having made his way to the throne by bloodshed, Tarquin supported by violence the power which he had acquired by injustice; and, from an usurper, became a tyrant. (110) He treated the senate with the utmost contempt. (111) He would not suffer the body of his father-in-law to be buried according to the custom of Rome, but ordered some of his slaves to treat it with the utmost indignity. (112) Guilt creates fear; and (113) as he knew that his conduct made him an object of detestation, among the citizens, he hired a guard to attend his person, lest any one should rush into his palace and murder him.

(114) From the time of Servius Tullius, the constitution of Rome became aristocratical. The object of Tarquin was to humble the aristocracy and exalt

the regular power. (115) The Plebeians, who saw at first with joy (117) the humiliation of the great families, (116) groaned at last under the burdens with which they were loaded; and, (118) rather than submit to slavery, some of them killed themselves in despair.

(119) A general cause, however important, is insufficient to determine the minds of men to action, without the particular impressions of some singular event. A circumstance of this kind soon happened; for Sextus, (120) the king's son, with one Collatinus, (120) a young Roman, and some other noble youths, having made rather too free with the bottle, at the siege of Ardea, (121) began to harangue on the virtue of their wives, each represented his own as endowed with superior accomplishments. Youth are seldom guided by prudence; and the young men being too much heated with wine to hearken to the voice of reason, Collatinus proposed that they should all set out for Rome, and that he, whose wife was found the best employed, should be looked upon as the most virtuous. The proposal was immediately relished, and, though it was then very late, the young warriors, having mounted their horses, rode to the capital, where they found all the ladies spending their time in luxury, except Lucretia (122) the wife of Collatinus, who was sitting at work with her maids.

Lucretia received her husband in the most endearing manner, and at the same time treated his friends with the respect due to their rank; and such was her modesty, beauty, and the dignity of her behaviour, that they all agreed to give her the preference.

(123) But nothing can protect the most virtuous against lawless power. Sextus, now inflamed with Lucretia's beauty, went afterwards privately to Collatia, where he was entertained by that lady and lodged in her house. At the silent hour of midnight he went to her apartment, where he found her fast asleep, and having awaked her, held a drawn sword to her breast, threatening at the same time, that if she made the least noise, he would kill her on the spot, then lay his own slave dead

by her side, and spread a report that he had put them to death in the act of adultery. The ill-fated Lucretia, terrified at these threats, yielded to his impious wishes; and (124) Tarquin next morning returned to the camp, exulting in his triumph over female chastity.

(125) Lucretia, stung to the soul at this barbarous treatment, sent for her father and her husband, with whom came Publius Valerius, and Junius Brutus, (126) a reputed idiot, whose father Tarquin had murdered. They found her dissolved in tears, and driven, to desperation. She related the whole story, and rejecting all thoughts of consolation, conjured them to revenge her injuries. After this, to give the strongest proof she could of her chastity, she stabbed herself to the heart; exclaiming, with generous indignation, "It never shall be said that any woman survived her honour, and justified her shame by the example of Lucretia *."

While the spectators gazed in silent horror on the bloody corpse, a new and unexpected incident augmented their astonishment. The undaunted spirit of Junius Brutus burst forth from beneath the clouds which had hitherto obscured it; and coming forward in the most heroic manner, the deliverer of his country drew the reeking poignard from the bosom of Lucretia, and as he held it aloft, "Yes," exclaimed he, "I swear by this blood, once so pure, to pursue with incessant vengeance the haughty Tarquin, his guilty wife, and children; and I call the gods to witness, that I will never suffer either that family, or any other, to bear the title of king in Rome." Surprise and resentment still occupied the hearers, and the empire of the passions was propitious to liberty. Collatinus, Lucretius, and Valerius, who felt as the husband, the father, and the patriot, with unanimous acclamation, pronounced the same oath. In consequence of which, (127) both the army and the citizens deserted the tyrant, who,

* This last act of Lucretia was by no means meritorious, and could be justified only by the barbarous age in which she lived.

upon his arrival at Rome, found the gates shut against him. Thus, after a reign of (128) 25 years, Tarquin and his family were for ever banished; and with him ended the regal government, which had continued (129) 245 years.

CHAPTER IV.

The King—Senate—Patricians—Plebeians—Equites —Patrons—Clients.

A. U. 1.—245.

(130) It is impossible for a collective body of people to live together, without being bound down to some rule of duty, and the object of that rule must be (131) the interest of the whole community. (132) During the infancy of society, laws are weak, but they gain strength, (133) in proportion to the increase of commerce, and the refinement of manners. (134) In rude ages, the letter is strictly adhered to, but in more enlightened and refined ages, (135) the spirit and tendency become the object of inquiry (136) at the bar, and of decision (137) on the bench.

As soon as the followers of Romulus had built their city, (138) they made an agreement that his power, as a sovereign, should be partly absolute and partly limited. The whole executive power was committed (139) to the king, and whenever he went abroad (141) in solemn procession, he was attended both by his guard and executioners, who were called (140) lictors, in order (142) to impress upon the minds of the people a proper notion of his dignity. (143) He was not, however, to make any new laws, without calling the people together, by a majority of whose votes every thing was to be regulated with respect both to civil and military affairs.

(144) The senate was instituted by Romulus, to be the perpetual council of the state. (145) It consisted at first of only one hundred members; but after the

Sabines were received into the city, another hundred were chosen from them. (145) Tarquinius Priscus, the fifth king of Rome, added one hundred more; so that (147) the number of three hundred continued with little variation to the times of Sylla who (148) added about one hundred more. In the time of Julius Cæsar, the number of senators was increased to (149) nine hundred, and after his death to one thousand: (150) many worthless persons having been admitted into the senate, during the civil wars, one of them is called by Cicero (151) self chosen*.

During the glorious days of Rome, however, (152) the senators were men celebrated for wisdom and integrity: and when war was declared, (153) the prince appointed the oldest as his deputy, to act in his stead till he returned. (154) The king sat as president when the senate was assembled; and (155) when the question was proposed, after each had given his opinion, the names were called over, and the majority always carried it. (156) It was natural to suppose, that such men would have the interest of their country in view, above every other consideration; and therefore the people out of respect called them fathers. From this circumstance we must date the origin of that order among the Roman people, called Patricians, to whom belonged all the great offices of state, in consequence of their being descended from those fathers. (157) Persons of inferior rank, whose ancestors had never been senators, were also entitled to honour, on account of their merit; if they greatly promoted the interest of their country, either by signalizing themselves in any remarkable engagement, or by attending to the arts of peace when the din of arms ceased.

(158) The Plebeians, or popular order of the Roman citizens, were a check upon the Patricians; and (159) that jealousy, so peculiar to the human species, kept alive sentiments of liberty in the minds of the people.

(160) The Equites, or knights, did not at first form a distinct order in the state. (161) When Romulus

* Ipse lectus a se.

divided the people into three tribes, he chose from each tribe one hundred young men, the most distinguished for their rank, their wealth, and other accomplishments, who might serve on horseback, and guard his person. Servius Tullius made eighteen centuries of Equites. (162) Ten thousand pounds of brass were given to each of them to purchase horses; and a tax was laid on widows, who were exempted from other contributions for maintaining their horses. Hence the origin of (163) the equestrian order, which was of the greatest utility in the state, as an intermediate bond between the patricians and plebeians.

But that the patricians and plebeians might be connected together by the closest union, (164) Romulus ordained that every plebeian should chuse from (165) the patricians any one he pleased as his patron or protector, whose client he was called. It was the part of the patron to advise and defend his client, to assist him with his interest and substance; in short, to do every thing for him that a parent could do for his children. The client, on the other hand, was obliged to pay the highest respect to his patron, and to serve him with his life and fortune in any extremity. (166) It was unlawful for patrons and clients to accuse or bear witness against each other; and whoever was found to have acted otherwise, might be killed with impunity, as a victim devoted to Pluto and the infernal gods. To the heinous crime of beating one's parent, Virgil adds that of defrauding a client *.

* Æneid VI. 605.

CHAPTER V.

Religion of the Romans.

IN the first ages of the world, mankind knew but one Deity, the supreme God and Creator of the universe; but afterwards, (167) when men abandoned themselves to vice and departed from the purity of their forefathers, their ideas of the Divinity became weakened, and instead of the worship of the only true God, they substituted other objects of worship more agreeable to the comprehension of their own depraved nature. Thus, by a mixture of truth and fable, one deity became productive of another, till at last the inventive fancy gradually gave life to every visible object both in the heavens and on the earth. (168) Not only Jupiter, Mars, Venus, and other false deities, were introduced, but rivers, fountains, animals, reptiles, and plants, received divine adoration. At length, men, who excelled in any useful science, and heroes, whose conquests had rendered them famous, (by an easy transition from admiration to a superstitious respect) were deemed more than human, and had divine honours paid them under different names, in different countries. This accounts for the multitude of deities which constitutes the marvellous part of ancient history, and the origin of Pagan divinity, when the earth was overwhelmed with darkness, and, as it is expressed in holy writ, "The hearts of men went after their idols," The fertile imaginations of the poets, who celebrated the exploits of ancient heroes, and expressed the common actions of life in figurative characters, joined to the extravagance of priests and orators in their panegyrics on the living and the dead, greatly forwarded the introduction of fiction; and in time their writings were considered as registers of facts.

(169) The Romans adopted almost all the gods of every nation they subdued. At Rome, each deity had his peculiar temple, when the most solemn sacrifices were made to them, according to the prevailing notion of their power and influence. (170) They erected to their honour an edifice, called the Pantheon, in which, as a general repository, were placed the statues of their several deities, with their respective symbols. (171) Jupiter was distinguished by a thunderbolt; Juno, by a crow; Mars, by a helmet: Apollo, or the Sun, by his beams; Diana, or the Moon, by a crescent; Ceres, by a cornucopia, or horn of plenty, or an ear of corn; Cupid, by a bundle of arrows; Mercury, by wings on his feet, and a caduceus or wand in his hand; Bacchus, by the ivy; Venus, by the beauty of her person; and the rest had characters placed above their statues, according to the received opinion of the people, or the ingenuity of the artist.

CHAPTER VI.

Of the Pontifices, or Priests—Augurs—Haruspices—Oracles—Vestal Virgins.

A. U. 1.—245.

(172) THE Pontifices, or ministers of religion among the Romans, did not form a distinct order from the other citizens. They were usually chosen from the most honourable men in the state. (173) The Pontifex Maximus, or High Priest, was supreme judge and arbiter in all religious matters. He took care that sacred rites were properly performed; and all other priests were subject to him. His presence was requisite at the dedication of a temple, and when a general devoted himself to his army, he repeated the form of words proper to be used.

(174) The Augurs, whose office it was to foretel future events, (175) chiefly from the flight, chirping, or

feeding of birds, were priests of great authority, because nothing of importance was transacted either at home or abroad, in peace or war, without consulting them.

(176) The Romans derived their knowledge of augury from the Tuscans; and their youth in early times were as carefully instructed in this art, as they were afterwards in Grecian literature. (177) By a decree of the senate, six sons of the leading men at Rome were sent to each of the twelve states of Etruria, in order to receive instruction*. (178) Before the city of Rome was founded, Romulus and Remus are said to have agreed to determine by augury who should name the new city, and who should govern it when it was built. Romulus chose the Palatine hill, and Remus, the Aventine, for their observations. Six vultures first appeared to Remus; and a short time afterwards twelve appeared to Romulus. Each hero was then saluted king by his own party. Remus claimed the crown from having seen the omen first; Romulus, from the number of birds. The contest became so serious that it produced a battle, and Remus fell. Such was the respect paid to augury that no person could enter upon an office without consulting the auspices; but in the time of Dionysius, it was only observed as a common ceremonial—for a verbal declaration that an omen was favourable (although none had appeared) generally satisfied the party concerned.

(179) The Haruspices (180) examined the victims and their entrails after they were sacrificed, and from thence derived omens of futurity. Their office resembled that of the augurs; but they were not esteemed so honourable.

(181) The natural desire of men to search into futurity gave rise also to the institution of Oracles. They were general among the idolatrous nations. (182) The oracle of Jupiter Hammon was famous in Lybia. The oracle of Apollo, at Delphi, was called the oracle of the whole earth. (183) No laws were enacted, no

* Cicero.

war undertaken, no peace concluded, nor, in the common concerns of life, was any material business entered upon, without the sanction of the oracle. (184) Each oracle had its priest, or priestess, who declared the answers of the gods. These answers were usually in verse, and couched in such mysterious terms, that they admitted of a double interpretation: therefore whether the prediction was fulfilled, or the expectation of the supplicant disappointed, the oracle escaped censure.

(185) The Vestal Virgins, consecrated to the worship of the goddess Vesta, were bound to their ministry for thirty years. During the first ten years, they learned the sacred rites; the next ten years, they performed them; and the last ten years, they taught the younger virgins. Their office was to keep the sacred fire always burning; for which purpose they watched it alternately in the night, and whoever allowed it to go out was punished. The fire was not lighted again at a common fire, but from the rays of the sun. (186) They enjoyed singular honours and privileges. If they happened to meet a criminal they could deliver him from punishment; and their interposition was always respected. If any Vestal violated her vow of chastity, she was buried alive with funeral solemnities, and her paramour scourged to death in the forum.

CHAPTER VII.

Curious Particulars.

A. U. 1.—245.

(187) MANY laws were enacted during the age of Romulus, but few of them have been transmitted to us. It may easily be imagined that some of them were extremely barbarous. (188) A father had a right to sell his child as a slave, or if he was born with any natural deformity, he might expose him to be devoured by wild beasts, provided he could obtain the consent

of his five nearest relations. (189) If a woman committed adultery, the husband had it in his power to take her life in whatever manner he thought proper. "The Romans, in that age," says Fenelon, "were not much better than the savages near the Cape of Good Hope." We are all by nature entitled to the protection of the society in which we live, unless we forfeit that protection by disobedience to the laws of our country.

(190) The temple of Janus, (191) built by Numa, had two brazen gates, one on each side, which were (192) always open in time of war, and shut in time of peace. Some suppose this temple to have been built by Romulus and enlarged by Numa. It was only once shut during the republic, and thrice by Augustus.

(193) The temple of Diana was built on the Aventine mount, at the instigation of Servius Tullius, by the Latin states in conjunction with the Roman people, in imitation of the temple of Diana at Ephesus.

(194) The Capitol was built on the Tarpeian mount, the highest ground in the city. (195) While the workmen were digging the foundation of the walls, they found the head of Tolus, who had been dead many years, and it bled as if it had been lately severed from the body. Superstition wrought this circumstance up to the highest pitch, and (196) in memory of so singular an event, it was agreed upon both by the king and the senate, that the building should be called Caput Toli, or the Capitol. It was a large square building dedicated to Jupiter; but as the Romans believed in the doctrine of Polytheism, or a plurality of gods, they ordered that two of the intermediate spaces within the temple should be consecrated to the service of Minerva and Juno.

The story of the books of the Sibyl, though acknowledged to be romantic, is too curious to be omitted.

(197) A woman named Amalthea, from a foreign country, came to Tarquinius Superbus wishing to sell nine books of Sibylline or prophetic oracles. But

when Tarquin refused to buy at her price she went away and burnt three of them. Returning soon after, she asked the same price for the remaining six; but the king again rejecting them, she went and burnt three more, and coming back still demanded the same money for the three which remained. Tarquin, surprised at this strange conduct, consulted the augurs; who advised the king to give the price required. The woman received the money, and having requested him to take the strictest care of the books, she disappeared and was never afterwards heard of. These books were deposited in a stone chest, and fifteen of the nobility, thence called Quindecemviri, were appointed to take care of them. They were consulted by order of the senate in all times of public calamity; and were preserved in the capitol, till that edifice was consumed by fire.

The following anecdote was related of Junius Brutus, who feigned himself mad. (198) Marcus Junius, his father, had been murdered by Tarquin the Proud, that he might seize on his estate. The son, in order to save his own life, counterfeited stupidity, and was thence called Brutus. Tarquin, thinking him really an idiot, kept him in his house for the amusement of his children. In the time of a dreadful pestilence, Tarquin sent his two sons, Sextus and Titus, to consult the oracle, and Brutus was ordered to accompany them. On entering the temple, the two brothers laughed to see the fool offer a wooden staff to Apollo; but they knew not that being hollow Brutus had filled it with gold, which made it a most acceptable present to the god. The princes then asked the oracle, "which of them should be king of Rome?" The answer was, "he who should first kiss his mother." This the brothers agreed to do both at the same time, on their return, and thus to be joint sovereigns. But Brutus, who knew the meaning of the oracle, fell down and kissed the earth, the common parent of mankind. The moment he arrived in Italy, he secretly determined to do every thing in his power to ruin the tyrant.

CHAPTER VIII.

Biographical Sketches.

A. U. 1—245.

TURNUS, (199) king of the Rutuli, was the son of Daunus and Venilia. (200) He made war against Æneas, and attempted to drive him from Italy, that he might not marry the daughter of Latinus, who had been previously engaged to him. His efforts were supported with great courage and a numerous army; yet (201) he was conquered, and at last killed in single combat by Æneas. He is represented as a man of uncommon strength.

(202) Lavinia, daughter of king Latinus and Amata, was betrothed to her relation king Turnus; but the oracle having ordered her father to marry her to a foreign prince, she was given to Æneas. At her husband's death she was left pregnant, and being fearful of the tyranny of Ascanius, her son-in-law, she fled into the woods, where she had a son called Æneas Sylvius.

(203) Ascanius, son of Æneas by Creusa, was saved from the flames of Troy by his father, whom he accompanied in his voyage to Italy. He was afterwards called (204) Iulus. He behaved with great valour in the war which his father carried on against the Latins, and succeeded Æneas in the kingdom of Latinus, and (205) Alba, to which he tranferred the seat of his empire from Lavinium. The descendants of Ascanius reigned in Alba (206) above 420 years, under fourteen kings; till the age of Numitor.

(207) Metius Suffetius was dictator of Alba, in the reign of Tullus Hostilius. He fought against the Romans, and finally (209) to settle their disputes, (208) he proposed the single combat between the Horatii and Curiatii. The Albans were conquered, and Metius

promised to assist the Romans. In a battle against the Veientes and Fidenates, Metius shewed his infidelity by forsaking the Romans at the first onset, and retiring to a neighbouring eminence, waited the event of the battle in order to fall upon the victorious party. The Romans obtained the victory, and Tullus ordered Metius to be tied between two chariots, which were drawn by four horses two different ways: by this dreadful punishment his limbs were torn away from his body, about 669 years before the christian æra.

(210) Attius Nævius, was an augur in the reign of Tarquin. (211) His abilities being questioned, to convince the king and the Romans of his power as an augur, he cut a flint with a razor, and turned the ridicule of the populace into admiration. Tarquin rewarded his merit by erecting a statute in honour of him, which was still to be seen in the age of Augustus. The razor and flint were buried near it under an altar. (212) This action, though believed by some writers, is treated as fabulous and improbable by Cicero, who himself had been an augur.

(214) Tanaquil, called also Caia Cæcilia, was the wife of (213) Tarquin, the fifth King of Rome. She was a native of Tarquinia, where she married Lucumon, better known by the name of Tarquin, which he assumed after he came to Rome, at the earnest request of his wife, whose knowledge of augury predicted his promotion. Her expectations were very soon realized; for Tarquin was raised to the throne, and she shared with him the honours of royalty. After the murder of Tarquin she placed her son-in-law Servius Tullius upon the throne, and by every exertion in her power ensured him the succession. (215) She distinguished herself by her liberality, and the Romans in succeeding ages had such a veneration for her character that the embroidered girdle which she wore, and the robe of her son-in-law which she had worked with her own hands, were preserved with the greatest sanctity. (216) Juvenal bestows the appellation of Tanaquil on every woman who could command her husband.

(217) Tarquinia was the daughter of Tarquinius Priscus who married Servius Tullius. (218) When her husband was murdered by Tarquinius Superbus, she privately conveyed away his body and buried it. She survived him but a few hours; and some attribute her death to excess of grief, or suicide; while others perhaps more justly suspect Tullia, the wife of young Tarquin, to have been her murderer.

(219) Tullia, daughter of Servius Tullius king of Rome, married Tarquin the Proud, (220) after she had murdered her first husband Arunx, and consented to see Tullius assassinated, that Tarquin might be raised to the throne. She ordered her chariot to be driven over the body of her aged father, which, after the murder, had been thrown into one of the streets. (221) She was afterwards banished from Rome with her husband.

BOOK II.

THE ROMAN REPUBLIC, FROM ITS COMMENCEMENT TO THE DESTRUCTION OF CARTHAGE.

A. U. 245.——608.
A. C. 508.——145.

CHAPTER I.

The Consuls—Dictator—Battle of Regillus—Death of Tarquin.

A. U. 245.—257.

AFTER the expulsion of the kings, (222) a form of government, in appearance republican, was established, though the senate reserved the greatest share of authority to themselves. The consuls succeeded the kings, and the consular dignity differed only from the royal power, by being limited in duration to a year.

The two first consuls chosen by the people were (223) Brutus and Collatinus, for reasons extremely obvious. Brutus had been in a manner proscribed by the tyrant whom he had dethroned, and Collatinus had been deprived of a virtuous and beloved wife by the brutal behaviour of the inhuman tyrant's son. It was natural to suppose that two such men would support those rights for which they had ventured their lives and fortunes.

No sooner had they taken possession of the government, than (224) they filled up the vacant seats in the senate, increased its number, and obliged both the senate and people to take a solemn oath never to suffer the Tarquins, or any other king, to reign at Rome.

(225) Tarquin, however, by means of his ambassadors, attached a party of the Roman youth to his cause, who concerted measures to re-establish him on the throne. The conspirators, being detected, were brought before the consuls; and Brutus beheld among them his own sons. The feelings of a father, strongly excited by this distressing circumstance, were as rapidly moderated by his inflexible virtue. The people were summoned to the Comitia, where Brutus with his colleague sat on the tribunal of justice. The prisoners being brought and tied to stakes, Brutus began the trial with the examination of his sons. (226) Vindicius, a slave who discovered the conspiracy, appeared against them; his testimony was found unanswerable, and their crime was likewise confirmed by letters from them to the Tarquins, which were produced and read. The prisoners were silent. Conscious guilt deprived them of the power of utterance. Brutus, with that dignified but gloomy aspect which marked his unalterable resolution, called upon the prisoners for their defence. They remained silent; for what could they urge to extenuate their crime? Again he addressed them, but receiving no answer, he was upon the point of passing sentence, when a confused murmur was heard among the senators, and the cry of "banish them, banish them," was repeated. Collatinus wept. The whole assembly trembled at the expected decision. (227) When Brutus rose up, a profound silence ensued, while with a steady voice, he turned to the lictors, who were the executioners, and said, "To you I deliver them; execute your office." (228) At these words such was the horror excited, that universal intercession for mercy was heard through the assembly. "We give them back to their country and their family," was echoed from

every quarter. But neither these entreaties, nor the affecting spectacle of the young men who were preparing for the dreadful punishment which they were to suffer, could soften the inflexible judge. They were seized by the lictors, who, having stripped them naked, and tied their hands behind their backs, first scourged them with rods, and then struck off their heads. Brutus gazed on the bloody spectacle with a steady and unaltered countenance, and the multitude saw the execution with pity, terror, and admiration. Brutus then descended from the tribunal, and left the rest of the criminals to the discretion of his colleague. Thus, by a terrible example, the father of his country fixed the foundation of Roman liberty.

(229) This action of Brutus has been praised by some, and censured by others. But surely a son, who in violation of the laws attempts to overturn the constitution of his country, and forms a design against the life of his father, can have no right to complain of the consequences of such conduct. The interest of the community is of greater importance than that of an individual. Is it not much more salutary that a limb should be cut of, than that the whole body should perish by mortification? A judge may pity the criminal, but he must punish the crime.

(230) Collatinus acting on a different principle, seemed disposed to save his relations. This conduct occasioned some disturbances in the assembly, but the prisoners were at last condemned and executed. Collatinus, finding the people prejudiced against him, resigned the consulship, and retired to Lavinium. Brutus immediately assembled the people for the election of a new consul, when they made choice of Publius Valerius, a man eminent for virtue and eloquence. His first act was the grant of a general amnesty to all who had followed the fortune of the Tarquins, provided they returned to the city within twenty days. This wise precaution deprived the banished king of a great number of friends, and brought back to Rome many persons of distinguished abilities.

(231) Tarquin, still hoping to obtain by force what he could not acquire by stratagem, engaged the Hetrurians in his cause, and advanced with a considerable army to Rome. The consuls marched to oppose his designs. (232) Aruns, son of Tarquin, and Brutus, first engaged in single combat, and both were slain. (233) The Roman Army proved victorious, when upwards of eleven thousand Hetrurians were killed, and five thousand taken prisoners. The body of Brutus was brought to Rome with great magnificence. The senate went out to meet it, and a funeral oration was pronounced by Valerius in the forum. The highest honours were paid to the memory of this famous Roman, who was regarded as the father of his country. The Roman ladies, contrary to the usual custom, mourned a whole year for him, in token of their veneration and regard. From this æra liberty begins to dawn, and the aristocracy by degrees changes into a republic.

(234) Valerius being now sole governor of Rome, deferred the election of another consul, that he might more easily settle the affairs of the commonwealth. He was, however, suspected of aspiring to the crown. (235) To ingratiate himself with the people, he made several laws in their favour; and, among others, that famous one, by which every citizen was allowed to appeal from the decisions of the senate and consuls, to the assembly of the people. To remove every occasion of jealousy, he caused his palace to be pulled down, lest it should give offence to the people, by its situation on a hill which commanded the city. After the affairs of the commonwealth were in some measure settled, (236) Lucretius was chosen his colleague, who died a few days after his election; and Marcus Horatius succeeded to the dignity.

About this time, Tarquin engaged (237) Porsenna, king of Clusium, to espouse his cause. (238) This prince advanced to the very banks of the Tiber, at the head of a prodigious multitude of troops. He took the fort Janiculum, and obliged the Romans to retire over the bridge into the city, whither he would have followed

them, had not the brave (239) Horatius Cocles, (240) with only two more, defended a narrow passage against the whole army, until the bridge was broken down. When only a few planks remained, Horatius prevailed on his companions to cross the river upon them, while he alone sustained the attack of the enemy. At length, being wounded in the thigh, on a signal given him that the bridge was quite demolished, he leaped into the river, and gained the opposite bank amidst a shower of darts. Thus by the wonderful bravery of one man the city and republic were saved from impending ruin. (241) The Romans were so sensible of his heroism, that they erected a statue of brass to his honour in the temple of Vulcan, and the senate gave him as much land as a plough could inclose by a circular furrow in one day.

The enemy being master of the country on both sides of the river, Rome was reduced to great distress by famine. Porsenna having heard of it sent the Romans a message, offering to relieve their necessities if they would receive their old master. But their answer was, "(242) Hunger is a less evil than slavery and oppression *".

The siege had lasted so long that Rome was almost wearied out, when Mucius Codrus, a young Roman of illustrious birth, formed a design which he communicated to the consuls and senators, and having gained their approbation, crossed the Tiber, entered the enemy's camp in the disguise of an Hetrurian, and made his way to the king's tent. Porsenna's secretary, magnificently dressed, was sitting on the tribunal with the king. Mucius, mistaking him for the king, leaped on the tribunal, and with one stroke of a poignard, which he had concealed under his garment, laid him dead at Porsenna's feet. Every one was amazed at the daring boldness of this action. Mucius was seized. "Thou execrable assassin," said the king, "who art thou? Whence comest thou? Who are thy accomplices?" Mucius, less terrified than his judge, replied;

* Florus.

I am a Roman. My design was to deliver my 'country from her most cruel enemy. You have 'seen my courage, try my constancy by torture; and 'you will find that Roman bravery is capable of 'attempting whatever man can do, and of suffering whatever human nature can endure." So saying, with a steady countenance, and a look which spoke his inward rage at having missed his aim, (242) he thrust his right hand into a pan of burning coals, and there held it a considerable time without discovering the least symptom of pain. He then said, 300 Romans, as resolute as myself, are concealed in the Hetrurian camp, and have all sworn to take away your life.—Porsenna, struck with admiration at this specimen of Roman courage, not only granted him his life and liberty, but returned to him his poignard. Mucius, having lost the use of his right hand, took it with his left; and from that time he was called Scævola, that is, left-handed*.

(244) Porsenna could not avoid contrasting the noble character of the Romans with the weakness of the Tarquins, and in consequence renounced his alliance with that tyrannical family, and made proposals to raise the siege, on the following conditions.

(245) Ten young men, and as many young women, were demanded as hostages by Porsenna, and this demand being acceded to, they were conducted to the camp of the enemy; but (246) Clelia, one of the virgins, disdaining slavery, fled from those who were appointed to conduct her, and swam across the Tiber on horseback while the enemy were throwing a shower of darts at her. Upon her arrival in the city, she went to the consuls, who, being afraid that Porsenna might look upon her conduct as an act of perfidy, ordered her to be sent back rather than violate the faith of public treaties. Porsenna, who was endowed with courage and generosity peculiar to a hero, not only set her at liberty, but allowed her to chuse as many of the hostages of the opposite sex as she should think

* Livy.

proper, and they were to be allowed to accompany her to Rome. The generous young woman, with a modesty peculiar to her sex, made choice of such as were under fourteen years of age, intimating at the same time, that they were too young to bear the drudgery of slavery.

Peace being thus concluded between the contending parties, nothing of importance happened during the space of six years. (247) The Sabines then taking the field with a considerable army, were defeated by the Romans. The soldiers on this victory obtained great plunder, and a triumph was granted to Publicola. (248) This consul died soon after, and was buried at the public expence, not having left money enough to defray the charges of his funeral. The Romans erected his tomb near the forum, and gave his family a right of interment in the same place. (249) He was the most virtuous citizen, and the greatest general, that Rome ever knew. He led a most frugal life, and was more anxious to transmit his virtues to his children, than to enrich them with the goods of fortune. As Publicola had stood up in defence of the chastity of (250) the Roman women, they mourned a whole year for him, as they had done before for Brutus.

Not long after, Tarquin, who was still alive, having received notice of dissensions at Rome, resolved to avail himself of so favourable a circumstance. (251) He brought the Latins over to his interest, and prepared to besiege the city in form.

Upon the establishment of a republic, the Romans found that they had only changed masters. When Tarquin was expelled from the seat of royalty, the senators and patricians appropriated all the lands as their own property; so that nothing was left to reward the soldier for his toil. The poor were obliged to borrow money at an exorbitant interest; and so rigorous were the laws, that the creditor had a right to seize the body of the insolvent debtor, and keep him in slavery till the debt was paid. The people, therefore, told the consuls, who went to levy men to carry

on the war, that those, who reaped the emoluments arising from the fruits of the earth, ought to venture their lives in defence of their country. (252) "It is immaterial to us," said they, "whether we starve in Rome, or any other place. We have thrown off kingly government, because Tarquin was a tyrant; but instead of one tyrant, we have three hundred. We are free-born Romans, and will live and die as such. We will support the liberties of the commonwealth while we receive encouragement and protection; but if we are to be treated as slaves, we care not who governs us. We are willing to risk our lives in defence of all that our ancestors held dear; but if we are to be denied the necessaries of life, it signifies little who are our masters; whether they be kings or senators."

The senate beheld with concern and terror (253) the rapid progress of domestic dissension. At the moment when the formidable confederacy of their enemies abroad required the strictest unanimity at home, they trembled on the brink of civil commotion. The extent and violence of the disease allowed no common remedy; and they resolved to place themselves and the commonwealth, for a limited time, under the power of a single person, who, with the title of Dictator, should at pleasure dispose of the state and all its resources.

(254) This officer was invested with power to punish the disobedient without trial and without appeal; to arm the people, and to employ their forces on any service; to name his own substitute or second in command; and to act without being, even at the expiration of his office, accountable either to the senate or the people.

(255) Lartius Flavius, one of the consuls, was appointed to this high office. He soon appeased the clamours of the multitude, and prevailed on the Latins to suspend the war, when a truce was agreed on for a year. Having conducted himself with great dignity and wisdom, he resigned his supreme authority before the end of six months.

On the expiration of the truce, however, hostilities were renewed; and Aulus Posthumus, (256) one of the new consuls, was created dictator, in order to carry on the war. (257) The Roman army consisted of twenty-four thousand foot, and one thousand horse; that of the enemy amounted to forty thousand foot, and three thousand horse. The main body of the Latins was commanded by Titus, Tarquin's second son, the left wing by Sextus, his eldest, and the right by Mamilius, his son-in-law. After a bloody battle, which was fought near the lake Regillus, (258) the Romans gained the victory. The field was strewed with (259) thirty thousand slaughtered Latins; among whom were the sons of the tyrant. Tarquin himself (260) retired to Cumæ in Campania, where he soon after died at the age of ninety. A. U. 257.

CHAPTER II.

The Tribunes of the People—Banishment of Coriolanus—The Agrarian Law—Quinctius Cincinnatus—Decemvirs—Death of Virginia.

A. U. 257.—306.

WHILE Tarquin was alive, the senate saw the necessity of governing the people with some moderation, as in the hour of oppression they might recal their ancient king to the throne. But, as soon as they were delivered from this terror, (261) they made a wanton use of their authority, and carried into rigorous execution the odious law concerning debts. (262) The people had frequently made complaints and remonstrances; and, trusting to the faith of the senate, had been often deceived. They threatened to abandon the city; and, from the impulse of the moment, pointed to the sword. The army deserted secretly under the conduct of Sicinius Bellulus, and withdrew to a hill on the bank of the river Anio. (263) Numbers followed

them ; and, although the gates of Rome were shut by orders from the senate, (264) the inhabitants scaled the walls in the dead of the night; and in the morning the patricians saw, from the deserted city, (265) the sacred mountain covered with the Roman people.

The senate was filled with consternation. What astonished them still more, was the order and discipline of the new camp. They beheld no tumult nor violence, but a moderation which announced a well concerted enterprize. Ten persons of the greatest dignity and popularity in the senate were invested with plenary power to treat with the people. Menenius, the consul, among other discourse, related to them the following fable: (266) "Once upon a time, the members of the human body, observing that the belly did not toil as they were obliged to do, rebelled and refused the aliments necessary for its support. Upon this, the members grew weak in proportion as the belly became infirm, and soon found the necessity of mutual cordiality and support; because the belly first received the nourishment, and afterwards communicated it to the members." "Thus," said he, "as the senate and people form but one and the same body, it will as inevitably be destroyed by divisions, as firmly supported by concord."

The multitude were so pleased with this story, and the just application made by Menenius, that (267) they were instantly disposed to treat with the deputies.

Instructed by the past, the people required security for the future, and demanded an immediate abolition of debts, and magistrates of their own, to guard their rights, and oppose the decrees which might be hostile to their interests. They obtained their requests, and tribunes of the people were created.

(268) These new magistrates were chosen annually by the people from their own body. (269) Five in number at the beginning, (270) they were afterwards augmented to ten. (271) Their doors stood open night and day to receive complaints. (272) Seats were placed for them at the gates of the senate-house, and

they were called in to confirm or annul the decrees of the senate. They demanded (273) two inferior magistrates to aid them in their functions, and the Ædiles were chosen, (274) whose business it was to superintend the public buildings, to regulate the weights and measures, and to see that the corn was not hoarded, or the markets forestalled.

(275) From this period the plebeians became an order in the republic.

The leaders of this sedition would not allow the people to separate before they had elected the new magistrates. Lucius Junius and Sicinius Bellulus were chosen; who immediately named three colleagues. (276) A law was passed before they left the camp, whereby the persons of the tribunes were declared sacred; and to make this law perpetual, the Romans were obliged to swear for themselves and their posterity, that they would inviolably observe it.

The Romans being at war with (277) the Volsci, the commons now readily enlisted themselves under the consul Posthumius; and Corioli, the metropolis of that nation, was attacked by Lartius. The besieged made a strong sally, and the Romans were driven back to their trenches. On this success of the enemy, Caius Marcus, (278) a valiant patrician, (279) withstood the enemy's whole force, and drove them back into the town. He followed them so close, that he entered the gates with them, and let the Roman army into the city, and took it. The Volsci was so terrified at this heroic action, that they sued for peace; and Caius Marcus had the surname of Coriolanus given him for his noble conduct.

About this time, the neglect of agriculture was the cause of a great commotion at Rome. They sent to (280) Sicily and other parts of Italy to buy grain; but the common people grew turbulent, and laid the blame of this scarcity upon the patricians. On the arrival of corn from Syracuse, disputes arose between the patricians and tribunes, about the distribution of it to the public.

Coriolanus, (281) incensed at the behaviour of the commons, advised the senators to keep the corn; all his public services, by this advice, were forgotten, and he was condemned to perpetual banishment by a majority of the tribunes. He now determined to go over (282) to the Volsci, a little republic, then governed by their general Attius Tullus, whom he had often encountered, and always conquered, in the late wars between them and the Romans; and so great was the success of this banished general, that he soon encamped within five miles of Rome. The city was overwhelmed with confusion and despair. The patricians upbraided the plebeians with ingratitude, and they charged the former with treachery. In this perplexity the tribunes sent ambassadors to Coriolanus, with an offer to repeal his banishment, and grant all his demands; but he received and dismissed the ambassadors with the resentment and resolution that marked an injured person, and still drew his army nearer to Rome. They then deputed to him the pontifices, augurs, and all the ministers of the gods, to go in solemn procession, and humbly intreat for an accommodation. Unmoved, however, by this pomp and ceremony, he insisted that all the territories taken from the Volsci should be restored, otherwise they must expect the utmost severity war could inflict. His rage was now carried to the highest pitch, and he was ready to crush the city, when (283) Veturia, his mother, Volumnia, his wife, with his children in her arms, accompanied by a great number of Roman ladies, of the first families, went out to meet him, and intercede for their country. The approach of this illustrious train, seconded by the rhetoric and endearments of his mother and wife, at last prevailed; and he, who paid no regard to the solicitations of his native city, was touched with those feelings that are inseparably connected with humanity.

(284) The mother of Coriolanus falling upon her knees, thus addressed him, while the tears rushed down her aged cheeks. "My son, did I not teach you to act as a Roman? Tell me, then, whether I am

now your slave or your mother? The affliction I have suffered in seeing you banished is but trifling, compared with the anguish of my soul, when I behold you at the head of a foreign army, seeking to enslave a city whose walls protect your mother, your wife, your children, and all that ought to be dear to you in this world."

Whilst this matron was speaking, the breast of the warrior was agitated with contending passions. At last, he exclaimed, "Ah! my mother, you disarm me; Rome is saved, but your son is lost; for the Volsci will never forgive the respect I must pay to your entreaties." He then told the army that Rome was too strong to be taken by storm, on account of the Tiber, from whence it received continual supplies; and, having marched back to Antium, the chief city of the Volsci, he was murdered by the soldiers, who conspired against him as a traitor.

The retreat of Coriolanus raised the Romans from the lowest state of despondency. The senate (285) erected a temple on the spot, in remembrance of maternal influence, by which the city was saved.

Upon the settlement of affairs abroad, commotions arose at home concerning the Agrarian Law, or (286) division of the lands, which, (287) by the neglect of the magistrates, had been seized on by the rich. The contest between the senate and tribunes was carried to a great height; when (288) the latter insisted that ten men should be chosen to collect and publish the laws. Quinctius Cæso, (289) a son of Quinctius Cincinnatus, opposed this new demand; but his inconsiderate heat exposed him to a prosecution by the tribunes, in consequence of which he left Rome before the day appointed for his trial. His father Cincinnatus, who, with ten other sureties, had been bound for his appearance, (290) was obliged to sell the best part of his estate on that account, and retire to a cottage on the other side of the Tiber, where he cultivated with his own hands, five or six acres of land, for the support of himself and family.

The same spirit of discontent prevailed at Rome, and continued for some time afterwards. At length (291) Quinctius Cincinnatus was thought the most proper person to quell these disturbances, and was therefore elected consul. The deputies sent by the senate to acquaint him with this promotion found him driving his plough, and, when they saluted him by the name of consul he was for some time doubtful whether he should accept the high dignity. The love of his country, however, prevailing, he took leave of his wife, and, recommending to her the care of domestic affairs, "I fear," said he, "my dear Racilia, that our fields will be but ill manured this year, and we shall be in danger of want." He then repaired to the city, where he conducted himself with so much spirit and prudence, that he soon appeased the popular commotion; and having restored tranquillity to the state, he resigned his dignity with more pleasure than he had felt in assuming it.

He was not, however, suffered to continue long in his rural retreat. (292) The Æqui and Volsci having soon after revolted, the Roman army, under Marcus Minutius, was in great danger; and in the hour of public distress, he was raised to the authority of dictator. When the deputies arrived with this second appointment, they found him, as before, engaged on rural labour, which he left with the greatest concern, saying, "This year's crop must also be lost. I was so happy in the management of my farm, that I did not desire a change, nor could any thing but the love of my country have taken me from it." The Roman youths obeyed with alacrity the summons of the dictator; a considerable army was raised in a few hours; and, (293) after an ineffectual display of valour, the enemy submitted to the ignominious condition of passing beneath the yoke. Two javelins were accordingly fixed in the ground, and a third laid over them, when all the soldiers walked under naked and unarmed. Quinctius returned to Rome, and entered

the city in pompous triumph; after which he resigned the dictatorship, and retired to his little farm. A. U. 296.

Hitherto every thing had been conducted at Rome by a majority of votes, either of the senate or the people. It was now, however, determined (294) to have a body of laws to regulate the decision both of public and of private questions. For this purpose, three senators, (295) Posthumius, Sulpicius, and Manlius, were sent into Greece to study the constitution of different states, and to collect the laws of Solon. On their return, (296) ten of the principal senators were chosen to complete a body of laws, and invested with sovereign power for a year. Thus the constitution took a new form. The consuls and tribunes resigned their office, and were succeeded by the Decemvirs. A. U. 302.

The novelty of this form of government made it pleasing to the people. The code of laws, written on twelve tables, was hung up to the public view. The senate approved it; and the people gave their assent with shouts of applause. This was almost as remarkable a revolution in the government as that from kings to consuls. They went every morning, each in his turn, to their tribunal in the forum; and there distributed justice with so much impartiality, that (297) the people, charmed with their conduct, seemed to have forgotten their former mode of government.

A supplement to the laws being demanded, the senate agreed that new decemvirs should be appointed for the ensuing year. Appius, a haughty patrician, procured by secret arts the election to fall on himself, and on colleagues devoted to his interest. (298) The new decemvirs became tyrants, and a plan of despotism was concerted. (299) They banished some; they murdered others; they threw one into prison, and confiscated the estate of another: in a word, they committed such daring outrages, as exposed them to the resentment of the whole body of the people.

(300) A violation of the rights of individuals hastened the downfal of the decemvirs, and the blood of Virginia reinstated the ancient form of government. Appius ordered (301) the daughter of Virginius, a plebeian, to be brought before him, for some pretended crime with a view to seduce her, and commissioned one of his dependants to claim her as his slave. (302) Virginius being informed of this transaction, left the camp, and stabbed his daughter in the presence of Appius. "My child," said he, "this is the only way to preserve your liberty and your honour. Go, Virginia, go to your ancestors, whilst you are yet pure and undefiled." He then held up the dagger to the decemvirs, and cried aloud, "Appius, thou tyrant! with this knife I doom thee to certain death." Having uttered these words, he immediately ran through the city into the camp, and persuaded the soldiers to revolt. They all declared they would stand by him, in whatever he should undertake. The colleagues of Appius who commanded the army, being informed of the disposition of the soldiers, attempted to appease them; but the soldiers, disregarding their commands, flew to their arms, snatched up their colours, and entered the city without the least disturbance.

The decemvirs, finding they could no longer hold their power, offered to resign, as soon as the senate should elect new consuls; only desiring that they might not be sacrificed to the hatred of their enemies. (303) A decree was accordingly passed, abolishing the decemvirate, and restoring the tribunes, when the decemvirs publicly resigned their authority in the forum, to the great joy of the city. Appius (304) being committed to prison, died there by his own hands; Oppius, the next to him in guilt shared the same fate; the other eight decemvirs went into voluntary exile; and Claudius, the pretended master of Virginia, was banished. "Thus the manes of Virginia were at length appeased (305) by the punishment of all the guilty*."

A. U. 306.

* Livy.

CHAPTER III.

Military Tribunes—Ambition of Mælius—Siege of Veii—Camillus—Manlius thrown from the Capitol—The first Plebeian Consul.

A. U. 366.—388.

THE government being now re-established upon its ancient footing, the two new consuls Horatius and Valerius, marched (306) against the Æqui and Volsci, who had invaded the Roman Territories, over whom they obtained a complete victory.

The people now insisted upon two new laws being enacted; (307) one for permitting intermarriages between particians and plebeians; the other for giving the plebeians a share in the consulship. (308) After a violent contest, the senate consented to the first, and determined to have the second law also passed, as the tribunes, on the approach of the enemy, opposed the levies. (309) This dispute would probably have been attended with fatal consequences, had not one of the senators, to preserve the honour of the consular dignity, proposed a medium, which was agreed to by both parties; that, instead of consuls, a certain number of military tribunes should be chosen, partly out of the senate, and partly from among the plebeians; and these new magistrates were to be invested with consular power. A decree was immediately passed for this fourth revolution in the Roman Government; and the comitia (310) were held without delay. But when the people came to vote, they refused to give their votes to any but patricians; so that only (311) three tribunes were elected, who resigned their office in (312) three months.

(313) The old form of government being thus restored, magistrates were chosen, under the name of

censors, to take a survey of the numbers and estates of the inhabitants every five years. Some time after, Rome was inflicted with a severe famine, when Spurius Mælius, (314) a rich patrician, (315) bought up corn at foreign markets, and distributed it at a low price among the people. His house, at last, became an asylum for vagabonds, who rather chose to subsist by his benevolence than by their own labour. He was a man of unbounded ambition, whose liberality was only a cloak for secret designs. Having brought over several citizens to his party, he caused a large quantity of warlike stores to be conveyed into his house, during the night, intending to take the whole government into his own hands. The plot, however, being discovered by the senate, (316) Quinctius Cincinnatus, now eighty years old, was a third time chosen dictator, when Mælius was summoned to appear before him; but (317) refusing to submit, he was killed in the forum by the master of the horse.

A. U. 315.

The death of Mælius was an unexpected stroke to the tribunes and their adherents; but Cincinnatus, (318) not intimidated by their threats, ordered the house of the haughty opposer of his power to be pulled down, when all his property was sold, and the money given to the most indigent citizens. On this occasion the popular clamour was so great, that (319) the senate gave their consent to the restoration of the military tribunes; but, in the course of a few months, the government returned into its wonted channel.

(320) These divisions among the people, who ought to have been united from motives of real interest, encouraged the Veientes to renew their depredations. The Romans having invested Veii, notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather, continued the siege the whole winter, and covered themselves (321) with the skins of wild beasts. This famous siege was carried on with various success (322) for several years, during which time the Roman army was greatly annoyed by (323) the Hetrurians, and other neighbouring nations.

Despairing to carry by assault a place which was so well garrisoned, (324) Camillus, the dictator and a brave officer, caused a passage to be dug under ground to the castle. At the same time, he amused the enemy by the appearance of a general attack, and while they stood in their own defence on the walls of the city, the besiegers made themselves masters of the town. Thus was the strong city of Veii taken, (325) like a second Troy, after a siege of ten years. The immense booty was divided among (326) the soldiers. Camillus, transported with the honour of subduing this great rival of Rome, triumphed (327) in a more magnificent manner than usual, and caused his chariot to be drawn by milk-white horses. (328) This was looked on as a singular act of vanity in the dictator, as the Romans held the horses of that colour sacred and peculiar to Jupiter and the Sun.

(329) From the constant opposition of the tribunes, the consuls could seldom raise an army, without naming a dictator. (330) To break this dependence upon the tribunes, the senate contrived the happy expedient of giving pay to the soldiers, when (331) the military operations of the Romans were conducted on a bolder scale. Instead of insignificant battles, they waged decisive wars. The taking of Veii was a presage of their future grandeur. A. U. 375. A. C. 396.

About this time, (332) a colony of the Gauls, who had crossed the Alps and settled in Italy, besieged Clusium, when the inhabitants implored the assistance of the Romans. The senate, unwilling to quarrel with a people who had never offended them, sent a deputation of three young particians of the Fabian family, to bring about an accommodation between the two nations. Being conducted to Brennus, (333) the leader of the Gauls, they offered the mediation of Rome, and asked what injury the Clusini had done them, or what pretensions any people from a remote country could have upon Hetruria. Brennus answered in a haughty tone, (334) "that his right lay in his sword, and that all

things belonged to the brave." (335) The Fabii were highly provoked at this answer; but, dissembling their resentment, they desired leave to go into the town, under pretence of conferring with the magistrates. As soon as they were admitted, they persuaded the inhabitants to a vigorous defence, and even put themselves at the head of the besieged in a sally, in which Quintus Fabius, the chief of the ambassadors, slew with his own hand one of the principal officers of the Gauls. Upon this, Brennus immediately broke up the siege of Clusium, and set out for Rome, having sent a herald before him to demand that those ambassadors who had so manifestly violated the law of nations, should be delivered up to him. The affair was brought before the senate. (336) The wisest and most prudent thought the demand just and reasonable; but as it concerned persons of great consequence, they referred it to the assembly of the people, who, (337) instead of condemning the three brothers, raised them to the dignity of military tribunes. Brennus, considering this as a high affront, hastened his march to Rome.

(339) The six military tribunes, (338) at the head of forty thousand men, advanced boldly against the Gauls, whose number exceeded seventy thousand. The two armies met (340) near the river Allia, about sixty furlongs from Rome. The victory was decisive (341) in favour of the Gauls, and the Romans, in the utmost disorder instead of returning to Rome, fled to Veii. The next day Brennus marched his troops into the neighbourhood of Rome, and encamped on the banks of the Anio. There his spies brought him word that (342) the gates of the city were open, and not one Roman was to be seen on the ramparts. Brennus, suspecting some ambuscade, advanced slowly, which gave the Romans an opportunity of sending into the capitol all the men who were fit to bear arms. The old men, women, and children, fled to the neighbouring towns.

Amidst this general confusion, (343) about four-

score of the most illustrious and venerable men, rather than fly from their native country, chose to devote themselves to death by a vow which Fabius, the high-pontiff, pronounced in their names. The Romans believed that by these voluntary sacrifices of themselves, disorder and confusion were introduced among the enemy. To complete their sacrifice, with solemnity becoming the magnanimity of the Romans, they dressed themselves in their pontificals, consular, and triumphal robes, according to their several ranks and stations, and repairing to the forum seated themselves there in their curule chairs, expecting the enemy and death with the greatest fortitude *.

At length, Brennus entered the city, which appeared to him (344) like a desert; and this solitude increased his perplexity. Advancing towards the forum at the head of his troops, he was struck with admiration at (345) the unexpected sight of the venerable old men, who had devoted themselves to death. The magnificence of their habits, the majesty of their countenances, their profound silence and unmoved behaviour, at the approach of the troops, struck the Gauls with such awful reverence, that they took them for the gods of the country, and seemed afraid to advance. (346) One of the soldiers, however, ventured to touch the beard of Marcus Papirius, who unaccustomed to such familiarity (347) gave him a blow on the head with his ivory staff. (348) The soldier, in revenge, immediately killed him; and the others, following his example, put all the rest to the sword.

Brennus then laid siege to the capitol, but (349) was repulsed with great loss. In order to be revenged on the Romans for their resistance, (350) he ordered the city to be burned, the temples and edifices to be destroyed, and the walls to be razed to the ground. Thus the famous city of Rome was entirely demolished. Nothing was to be seen in the place, where it stood, but some inconsiderable ruins.

* Plutarch.

In the dead of night, the Gauls had contrived to take the capitol by surprise. They proceeded with such silence, that they were not discovered, either by the centinels, who were upon guard in the citadel, or even by the dogs; though these animals are usually alarmed at the least noise. But they could not escape (351) the vigilance of the geese, (352) a flock of which was kept in the court of the capitol, in honor of Juno. On the first approach of the Gauls, they ran up and down cackling and beating their wings, till they awakened (353) Manlius, a partrician of great courage. He attacked the enemy, and, with the assistance of others who hastened to his aid, drove the besiegers down the rock. For this heroic behaviour, (354) Manlius was rewarded with the additional name of Capitolinus.

Camillus (355) had retired to Ardea, a town in Latium; but deeply affected by the calamity of his country, he prevailed on the Ardeans to raise an army under his command, to oppose a party of the Gauls who were appointed to lay waste the neighbouring territory. (356) With this army he so effectually destroyed the enemy, that scarce any were left to carry the news of their defeat. This turn of fortune raised the fainting spirits of the Romans, who requested Camillus to forget all former injuries, and become their general. The senate appointed him dictator. (357) He broke off the treaty which was on foot between the Gauls and Romans, declaring that he alone, as dictator, had the power of making peace. He then attacked the enemy, and so completely routed them, that the Roman territories were in a short time cleared of these invaders.

A. U. 365.

(358) In less than twelve months, Rome rose with superior grandeur from its own ashes, and Camillus was looked on as a second founder. (359) Soon after, Manlius Capitolinus, elated with the service he had performed for his country, began to raise disturbances in the city, and discovered a design to secure the sovereignty. (360) He was strongly opposed by Ca-

millus, and imprisoned by Cornelius Cassius, the dictator; (361) but he was soon after restored to liberty by the senate, from a dread of the populace, who surrounded the prison day and night, and threatened to break it open. The moment he was set at liberty, he renewed his factious intrigues. His house was crowded with the mutinous, whom he harangued without reserve, exhorting them to shake off the yoke they groaned under; to abolish the dignity of dictator and consul; to establish an exact equality among all the members of the republic, and to elect themselves a head, who might govern and keep in awe the patricians as well as the people. "If you judge me worthy of that honour," said he, "the more power you give me, the sooner you will be in possession of what you have so long wished for. I desire authority with no other view, but to make you happy." (362) A plot was then formed to seize the citadel, and declare him king. The senate, alarmed at the danger which threatened the state, ordered the military tribunes (363) to be watchful, that the republic received no damage; a form of words which was never used but in the greatest dangers, and which (364) invested those magistrates with an authority almost equal to that of a dictator. Different means were proposed for defending the designs of Manlius. Some were of opinion, that he should be assassinated. But (365) Marcus Manlius and Quintius Publilius, two of the tribunes of the people, thought it more advisable to adopt the usual forms of law, and offered to prosecute him before the comitia, not doubting but the people would immediately desert him when they saw their own tribunes become his accusers. The advice was approved, and Manlius was summoned to his trial. The crime laid to his charge was, aiming at sovereign power. He appeared before his judges in deep mourning. But neither his own brothers, nor any of his relations changed their dress, or solicited the judges in his behalf, as was usually done by the friends of a person accused. So much did the love of liberty prevail in

the hearts of the Romans, over all the ties of blood and kindred. (366) Being found guilty, he was condemned to be thrown headlong from the capitol, which he had so lately saved. His house was razed to the ground; and it was decreed, that no patrician should ever after dwell in the capitol. (367) Thus was Rome so jealous of her liberty, that the greatest merit could not atone for the least attempt to violate it.

The struggle of parties still continued. Envy began to show itself among the females, in consequence of an incident that ought not to be omitted in this place, because it points out the springs of action in the human heart. (368) One of the tribunes of the people, whose name was Fabius Ambustus, had two daughters; one married a patrician, and the other a plebeian. (369) One day while the wife of the plebeian was sitting with her sister, some of the senators' wives came to visit the latter; when the former was so envious of the parade and grandeur that distinguished them, and the particular attention shown to her sister, that in consequence of her mortification, she fell into a deep melancholy, and gave herself up to despair. It was some time before she would reveal to her father or her husband the cause; but at last she opened her mind and disclosed all that had passed. Her father, who was a patrician, promised to do every thing in his power to raise her husband's rank, and immediately proposed in the senate to admit the plebeians to the highest office in the commonwealth. In consequence of this proposal, the contest was so violent, that for five years no [illegible] was chosen; and the city was in a [illegible] state of anarchy. Camillus, (370) being called [illegible] to the dictatorship, appeased the [illegible] commenced upon the patricians to admit a plebeian [illegible] to the senate.

(371) While Camillus was dispatching public affairs, the tribunes ordered the votes of the people to be taken upon their favorite measure. The dictator opposing this attempt, they sent a lictor to arrest and conduct him to prison. (372) Such an indignity

offered to a magistrate, who had been hitherto held sacred, raised a greater commotion than had ever been seen in Rome. The patricians, who stood round the dictator, boldly repulsed the lictor, while the people who stood below, with equal fury, cried out, "Down with him, down with him."

In this universal uproar, Camillus was the only person who seemed unmoved. He intreated that the tribunes would pause a moment before they acted. He called the senators around him, and conducting them to a neighbouring temple, requested them to establish peace in the city by their compliance, as they valued the future welfare of their country, and (373) vowed to build a temple to concord, in case he saw tranquillity restored to the people. In consequence of his address, a law was made, that one of the consuls for the future should be chosen from the plebeians. (374) Sextus, who had long been a turbulent tribune of the people, was the first plebeian consul.

(375) From this epocha, all the officers in the state became common to both orders. Nobility of birth gave place to dignity of office. The patricians mixed with the people, and the plebeians belonged to the order of the senate. (376) This revolution brought the Roman republic to its perfect form. A. U. 388. A. C. 365.

Camillus having spent a long life in the service of his country built a temple to concord, according to his vow, (377) and died of the plague in the eighty second year of his age. (378) He is said never to have fought a battle without gaining a complete victory; never to have besieged a city without taking it; and never to have led an army into the field, which he did not bring back loaded with glory and booty. He was a zealous patriot, and though persecuted by his ungrateful country would never listen to his just resentments. Rome may be said to have furnished the world with many noble patterns of probity, but none perhaps more perfect than that of the incomparable Camillus.

CHAPTER IV.

War with the Samnites—Manlius put to death for fighting against orders—War with the Tarentines—and Fabricius.

A. U. 388.—484.

TOWARDS the south of Italy an extensive tract of country, which forms a considerable part of the modern kingdom of Naples, was inhabited by the Samnites, (379) a bold and hardy people, whose numbers and skill in war presented an adversary not unworthy the fame and fortune of the republic. They made frequent incursions, both into the territories of the Romans, and those of their allies. (380) It was only by arms that the pretensions of Rome could be vindicated; and the consular troops, led by Valerius Corvus and Cornelius Cossus, fought with such bravery, that the ground was covered with slaughtered bodies of the Samnites. The war with this people, and the neighbouring states, was carried on for some years. (381) In an engagement with the Latins, strict orders were given by the consuls, Manlius Torquatus and Decius Mus, that no person should fight without leave, on pain of death. (382) The son of Manlius, however, advancing to take a view of the enemy, accepted a challenge from Metius, a captain of the Latins, and slew him. (383) The young man took the spoils of his antagonist, and laid them at his father's feet, who commended him for his valour, but at the same time caused him to be put to death for fighting against orders. The Latins being defeated were obliged to sue for peace, and obtained it upon hard conditions. (384) The Samnites were at last conquered, and (385) the whole country from Gallia Cispadana to Apulia and Lucania submitted to the Roman arms.

(386) The Tarentines, while they nourished the growing discontents of the other Italian states, had hitherto affected to preserve a sacred neutrality. (387) But a Roman fleet, which had been compelled to seek shelter in their harbour from the fury of a tempest, awakened their avarice, and disclosed their hostile disposition. (388) Of ten vessels only five escaped from the inhospitable coast; and the prisoners who were taken in the others were instantly put to the sword, or driven to slavery by the perfidious captors. Dreading the power and resentment of the Romans, (389) they solicited the aid of Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, who, with twenty thousand infantry, three thousand cavalry, and twenty elephants, sailed for Tarentum. (390) He first offered to become mediator between the Romans and Tarentines; but Lævinus answered, (391) "That the Romans neither desired his mediation, nor feared his power." (392) He then conducted the messengers through the camp, and bade them tell their master what they had seen. (393) The armies met on the plains of Heraclea, where a general engagement took place. (394) The Romans were routed; and, besides great slaughter, eighteen thousand were taken prisoners. Pyrrhus directing his march towards Rome advanced as far as Præneste, and laid waste all before him. Finding, however, that large recruits arrived he sent Cineas, (395) a famous orator, to treat about a peace; who found himself under the necessity of leaving Rome with this answer, (396) "Let Pyrrhus withdraw his forces from Italy, and return to his own country; the Romans will then treat with any ambassador whom he may think proper to send." (397) Cineas, upon his return to the camp, told Pyrrhus that the Roman senators were the most venerable men he had ever seen, and his testimony was confirmed by the appearance of Fabricius, who came the next day to treat with the Grecian hero about an exchange of prisoners. (398) Fabricius was an aged senator of great simplicity of manners. The senate, conscious of his many virtues and at the same time sensible of

his poverty, had ordered his daughters to have portions paid them out of the treasury of the republic, but the father refused to accept any thing. "If I enjoy the approbation of my countrymen," said he, "and can promote the interest of Rome, I cannot be destitute of riches." (399) Here we have the character of a real patriot, who thought himself or his private advantage was no more to be put in comparison with that of the public, than the life or happiness of a single person to that of a whole nation.

(400) Pyrrhus received this celebrated old man with great kindness, treated him with the highest marks of distinction, and by the offer of the most valuable presents endeavoured to dispose him to his interest. After having given a general audience to the ambassadors, he took Fabricius aside and addressed him in the following manner:—"(401) Fabricius, I am sensible of your merit. I am convinced that you are an excellent general, and perfectly qualified for the command of an army; justice and temperance are united in your character, and you are respected as a person of consummate virtue. But I am not less certain of your poverty, and I must confess, that fortune has treated you with injustice by placing you in the class of indigent senators. In order therefore to supply that deficiency, provided you assist me to negociate an honorable peace, I am ready to give you as much gold and silver as will raise you above the richest citizen of Rome: for what can be more honorable to a prince than to raise from indigence a great and virtuous man? This is the noblest purpose to which a king can devote his treasures."

To this Fabricius answered, "(402) My poverty may in your opinion be very great, as my whole estate consists in a house of mean appearance, and a little spot of ground, from which by my own labour I draw my support. But if you have been taught to think that this poverty makes me less respected in my country, or in any degree unhappy, you are extremely deceived. I have no reason to complain of fortune;

she supplies me with all that nature requires; and, if I am without superfluities, I am also free from a desire to enjoy them. With riches, I confess, I should be more able to succour the necessitous, the only advantage for which the wealthy are to be envied. But, small as my possessions are, I can still contribute something to the support of the state, and the assistance of my friends.

"With regard to honors, my country places me, poor as I am, on a level with the richest; for Rome knows no qualification for great employments, but virtue and ability. She entrusts me with the command of her armies, and confides to my care the most important negociations. My poverty does not lessen the weight and influence of my counsels in the senate. The Roman people honor that very poverty, which you consider as a disgrace. They know the many opportunities I have had to enrich myself, without incurring censure. They are convinced of my disinterested zeal for their prosperity, and, if I have any thing to complain of, it is the excess of their applause. What value, then, can I set upon your gold and silver? What king can add to my fortune? Always attentive to discharge the duties incumbent on me, I have a mind free from self reproach. I have an honest fame. And to me these are inexhaustible treasures."

(403) Pyrrhus, amazed at the greatness of his soul, released the prisoners, on the promise of Fabricius, that, in case the senate were determined to continue the war, he might reclaim them whenever he thought proper; but the senate refused any accommodation, the prisoners were returned, and the war was continued.

(404) History relates a remarkable instance of Roman generosity in the person of Fabricius. While this general was on his march against Pyrrhus, a letter was brought to him from the king's physician, imporing, that for a proper reward he would take him off by poison, and thus rid the Romans from a most powerful enemy. Fabricius felt at this proposal the

honest indignation that was consistent with his character. He sent the traitor back in chains to Pyrrhus, remarking in a letter, "That the Romans disdained all infamous practices, and conquered their enemies not by treachery, but by the sword."

Pyrrhus was not more amazed at the candour of Fabricius than indignant at the conduct of his physician, (405) "Admirable Fabricius!" cried he "it would be as easy to turn the sun from its course, as thee from the path of honor." After a strict examination of his physician, finding him guilty of treason, he ordered him to be executed. Not to be outdone in magnanimity by Fabricius, he immediately sent to Rome all his prisoners without ransom. The Romans, on their side, returned an equal number of Tarentines and Samnites. (406) This mutual act of kindness did not, however, produce a peace. Pyrrhus was surprised at their obstinacy in continuing the war, and distressed by their perseverance. But though he found his army very much reduced, yet he determined some time afterwards to hazard another battle, which took place near Beneventum, (407) in which he lost thirty-three thousand men. After this defeat, Pyrrhus (408) retired to Epirus, and soon after died at Argos, a principal city of Peloponnesus.

CHAPTER V.

Carthage—The first Punic War—Regulus—The second Punic War—Hannibal crosses the Alps—Scipio.

A. U. 484.—553.

DURING the war with Pyrrhus, (409) agriculture had been much neglected; and the Romans had been so accustomed to live on plunder, that they had no inclination to return to the plough. Scarcity, however, made them think of some means to procure the necessaries of life; and nothing seemed so likely to answer that end, as extending their conquests into some country which would be able to supply all their wants. A pretext was soon found. (410) Many of the Carthaginians had landed on the southern coast of Italy, and carried off the most valuable effects of the natives. (411) This gave rise to a succession of hostilities between these rival states, known in history by the name of Punic wars; in which the Carthaginians with all their wealth and power were an unequal match for the Romans. (412) Carthage was of much greater antiquity than Rome. (414) It was first peopled by the Phœnicians, who had extended their conquests and their commerce through most of the islands in the Mediterranean, and into many other parts. It was situated about three miles from the place where (414) the city of Tunis stands, and (415) was a powerful republic, when Rome was an inconsiderable state; but was now become corrupt and effeminate, while Rome was in the vigour of her political constitution. (416) Carthage employed mercenaries to carry on her wars; Rome, as we have already mentioned, was composed of soldiers. The first war with Carthage (417) lasted twenty-three years, and (418) taught the Romans the art of fighting

on the sea, with which they had been hitherto unacquainted. (419) A Carthaginian vessel being wrecked on their coast, they used it as a model, and in three months fitted out a fleet, in which the consul (420) Duilius fought their first naval battle, when (421) the Roman fleet was victorious.

(422) Attilius Regulus was appointed pro-consul in Africa. (423) He defeated the Carthaginian army, and took five thousand prisoners. He reduced Clypea, a famous sea-port, and other cities of Africa; and no peace could be obtained by the Carthaginians from Regulus, but on the hardest conditions. (424) The Lacedemonians sent Greek troops to their assistance under Xantippus, (425) a brave and experienced general. Fortune now favoured the Carthaginians. (426) Regulus was defeated and taken prisoner with (427) five hundred Romans, the companions of his misfortune. (428) The Romans also sustained great loss by sea; for, on their return to Italy, the greatest part of their fleet, (429) consisting of three hundred and fifty sail, was destroyed by a tempest, and both their consuls perished. A similar misfortune befel them the year after, when they lost one hundred and fifty ships. The Romans were so much discouraged by this repeated series of events, that they declined any farther naval engagement, and decreed (430) that sixty ships only should be kept at sea to guard the Italian coasts.

(431) The consul Metellus, on the other side, raised the spirits of the Romans, by a dreadful overthrow of the Carthaginians in Sicily under (432) Asdrubal, their general. Twenty thousand men were killed, and twenty-six elephants were taken. (433) For this action a splendid triumph was decreed to Metellus; and Asdrubal, on his return to Carthage, was condemned and executed.

The behaviour of Regulus, the Roman general, may give us an idea of the spirit which then animated that people. The Carthaginians, wearied with this tedious war, sent ambassadors to Rome to make overtures of peace. (434) Regulus had now been a prisoner in

Carthage five years; and the Carthaginians engaged him to plead their cause. But they first exacted a promise from him to return to Carthage, in case the embassy proved unsuccessful. It was at the same time hinted to him that his life depended on the success of his negociation.

On his arrival at Rome, (435) he acquainted the senate with the motive of his journey, and at the same time used every argument to dissuade the Romans from peace, or an exchange of prisoners, "who," he said, "had ignominiously surrendered their arms to the enemy. As to himself, he was far advanced in years, and looked upon death, though inflicted with the most cruel torture, as nothing in competition with the welfare of his country." Having at length prevailed on the senate to comply with his entreaties and carry on the war, though he well knew how fatal the consequences would be to himself, this illustrious prisoner would not break his engagement with the enemy, but returned to Carthage; where, horrid to relate! (436) the Carthaginians imprisoned him in a dungeon, and cutting off his eyelids exposed him to the sun when its beams darted the strongest heat. They afterwards put him into a barrel stuck full of nails, whose points continually piercing his flesh allowed him not a moment's ease. At last, to complete their cruelty, they nailed this noble Roman to a cross, where he expired. By this act, the Carthaginians brought perpetual infamy on themselves and their country.

(437) The Romans hearing of the horrid deed were so much enraged, that they delivered Hamilcar, the Carthaginian general, and other prisoners to Marcia, the wife of Regulus, who shut them up in an armoury filled with spikes, with an intent to inflict on them the punishment her husband had suffered. (438) The magistrates, however, interfered, and preserved them from destruction, to let the enemy know, that the Romans were too generous to retaliate on individuals those crimes which their country alone had been guilty of inflicting.

(440) The war between the two republics was renewed both by sea and land with various success; at length a peace was concluded between them. (439) Sicily was made a Roman province, and the Carthaginians engaged to deliver up all their prisoners without ransom.

A. U. 522. A. C. 231.

Carthage, though corrupted, was not deficient in great men. Of all the enemies the Romans had to contend with, (441) Hannibal was the most inflexible. His father, Hamilcar, had imbibed an extreme hatred against the Romans, and took an early opportunity to inspire his son, though but nine years old, with his own sentiments. (442) For this purpose he ordered a solemn sacrifice to be offered to Jupiter, and leading his son to the altar asked him whether he was willing to attend him in his expedition against the Romans. The courageous boy not only consented to go, but conjured his father by the gods present to form him to victory and teach him the art of conquering. That I will do, replied Hamilcar, with all the care of a father who loves you, if you will swear upon the altar to be an eternal enemy to the Romans. Hannibal readily complied; and the solemnity of the ceremony and the sacredness of the oath made such an impression on his mind, as nothing afterwards could efface.

(443) Being appointed general at twenty-five years of age, he laid siege to (444) Saguntum, a city of Spain in alliance with the Romans. (445) This breach of peace occasioned the second Punic war, which was carried on with mutual bravery and animosity. So equally did victory hover over them in their various battles, that both parties triumphed by turns. Hannibal had greatly the advantage at first. (446) He over-ran all Spain, and being bent on the ruin of the Roman state, he determined to carry the war into Italy.

(447) Towards the close of autumn, he arrived at the foot of the Alps, whose lofty summits present a strong but ineffectual barrier to the enmity of a deter-

mined adversary. With fifty thousand infantry, nine thousand cavalry, and thirty-seven elephants, he began to ascend those mountains which are perpetually covered with snow; nothing but terrible objects presented themselves to his army. Rocks hanging perpendicularly over their heads, wild beasts almost perishing with hunger, and a thousand other dreadful objects threatened them with immediate destruction. But nothing could intimidate the warlike Hannibal; he encouraged his soldiers to go through every difficulty, and by his own example showed them how to face danger. His steps were often arrested by famine, and his march by the inclemency of the elements; he was exposed to the incessant assaults of a fierce and intractable race of natives, whose long shaggy hair and savage dress, impressed the beholders with terror and astonishment. Hundreds were daily crushed by the fragments of rocks which these barbarians rolled upon the heads of the soldiers; hundreds, betrayed by the slippery surface of the ice, tumbled headlong into vast and unfathomable precipices. (448) Nine days their painful toils had been continued, when on the tenth their fainting spirits were revived by the prospect of the fertile fields and flourishing cities of Italy. (449) From the summit of the Alps Hannibal displayed to his troops the luxuriant plenty of the plains beneath, the rich reward of their labours. Two days were devoted to recruit their exhausted strength; and on the third they began to descend. Various were the obstacles which presented themselves to deter the army from this desperate march; they found their number daily decreasing through terror and fatigue; and to complete their distress they unexpectedly arrived at the top of a precipice above three hundred yards in depth. To effect a passage appeared impossible. What means were taken to surmount this difficulty are not exactly known. (450) An elegant, though credulous, Roman historian,* tells us, that to level the path, Hannibal ordered a great number of trees to be

* Livy.

cut down, and setting fire to them heated the rock, and then softened it with vinegar. However idle and ridiculous such a story may seem, yet it was meant to explain the abilities of Hannibal; for the vinegar represented patience, and fire the courage of the commander, who was endowed with perseverance peculiar to himself. His genius and constancy having triumphed over every obstacle, on the fifteenth day from entering the passes of the Alps, his wayworn followers reposed amidst the abundance of the Insubrian plains. Their emaciated figures proclaimed the hardships they had endured: of the vigorous and numerous army which had traversed the Pyrenean mountains, only twenty six-thousand meagre veterans escaped, to reap in Italy the harvest of their valour.

As soon as it was known at Rome that Hannibal was crossing the Alps, (451) Scipio was sent to oppose him. (452) The two armies came in sight of each other near the river Ticinus, in Lombardy. (453) Before they engaged, Hannibal harangued his troops, and in order to be understood by men of gross apprehensions he displayed to their eyes the abundant plains of Italy, before he addressed himself to their ears; and aimed not at persuading them by reasons, till he had prepared them for it by objects. He represented to them the conquest of all Italy and the plunder of Rome, by which they would acquire not only immense wealth, but immortal glory. He excited their indignation against the insolence of the Romans, who had presumed to demand, that himself and the soldiers, who had taken Saguntum, should be delivered up to them; and he inflamed their resentment against the pride of those imperious masters, who believed they had a right to prescribe laws to the whole world.

Scipio seems to have entertained too mean an opinion of his antagonist. (454) The consequence was, that the Romans were put to flight, their commander was wounded in the action, and his life exposed to the most imminent danger.

In an engagement, which afterwards took place be-

tween (455) Flaminius and Hannibal, both parties fought with such animosity, that (456) in this battle Flaminius was slain, with fifteen thousand Romans; six thousand were taken prisoners, and about ten thousand escaped to Rome.

Rome was in the utmost consternation on this success of the enemy, and (457) Fabius Maximus was sent with four legions in quest of Hannibal, but constantly avoided coming to an engagement with him. This cautious conduct of Fabius greatly distressed Hannibal, who had frequently offered him battle. The year after the armies came to a general engagement at Cannæ, a town in Apulia. (458) The Romans, under the consuls Æmilius Paulus, and Terentius Varro, were again entirely routed. Fifty thousand men were slain, and a hundred thousand surrendered themselves prisoners of war: so great was the slaughter, that it is said the conqueror sent to Carthage three bushels of gold rings, which had been taken from those who fell in this dreadful engagement.

Hitherto victory declared on the side of the Carthaginians, and Rome was in the utmost distress. At this time (459) Caius Scipio, a tribune of the soldiers, undertook to support the cause of his country. This young man being informed that some of the best families of Rome had agreed to abandon Italy, and settle themselves elsewhere, under the idea that Rome was lost, went directly to the assembly, and with his sword drawn, swore, "(460) That if they did not lay aside that inglorious resolution and take an oath not to abandon the republic in its present distress, they should all be immediately cut to pieces." (461) These threats added to the spirit and courage of Scipio, not only obliged them to give up their plan, but they mutually plighted their faith to each other to deliver their country, or to die in its ruins.

Hannibal had neglected (463) to improve his conquest, by not marching directly to Rome, as Maherbal, (462) the general of his cavalry, advised him to do: on his refusing, the general told him that he was much

better qualified to fight than to make a proper use of victory. Had he taken Maherbal's advice, there is no doubt but the city would have been obliged to submit, for a panic had seized all ranks of people. (464) His dilatory conduct, however, gave the Romans time to recover their spirits. A new army of young men and (465) slaves was sent into Spain, and the Romans coming to an engagement (466) in Sardinia, twelve thousand Carthaginians were slain. (467) Marcellus also greatly harassed Hannibal's troops, and repulsed him in several encounters; but at last fell into an ambuscade, and was slain.

Scipio, the younger, was sent into Spain, and made very successful campaigns. Hannibal was defeated by (468) Hostilius and Claudius Nero. Asdrubal, Hannibal's brother, was killed in battle with the consul Livius, and Spain was entirely subjected to the Romans.

(469) Scipio was now made consul, and sent into Africa. (470) The Numidians also sent a powerful army under a second Asdrubald and Syphax, to the assistance of the Carthaginians. (471) Scipio surprised the camp of the enemy in the night, and by his artifice gained a complete victory.

(472) Finding among the prisoners of war one of the nephews of Massinissa, king of Numidia, he sent him back to his uncle, loaded with presents, and accompanied by a detachment for the safety of his person. Massinissa, struck with this generous action of the Roman general, forgot all former hostilities and joined his troops to those of Scipio. (473) He soon after conquered Syphax, carried him prisoner to Rome and continued the firmest ally the Romans ever had.

On this occasion Hannibal was called home, after (474) having passed fifteen years in Italy, to the great terror of the Romans; and on his return took the command of the African army (475) at Zama, distant from Carthage five days' journey. The Roman army was also in a neighbouring plain, and the two generals had an interview, but nothing was agreed on. Scipio

charged the Carthaginians with perfidy and injustice; upon which both sides prepared for battle. The fate of Rome and Carthage was now to be decided. Both generals displayed the utmost bravery and experience in arms; but (476) Hannibal was at last vanquished, and victory declared for Scipio. (477) Twenty thousand Carthaginians were slain in the field, and as many taken prisoners. Hannibal returned to Carthage, irrecoverably vanquished. (478) No choice was left but to make peace, and this was granted by the conquerors on the most inglorious conditions. Thus ended the second Punic war, after it had continued seventeen years; and the power and grandeur of the Roman people were greatly increased by this signal conquest over their rival for universal empire.

(479) A powerful alliance was soon formed against the Romans by Antiochus of Asia, surnamed the Great, and Hannibal the avowed enemy of Rome. Antiochus was defeated (480) at Magnesia by Cornelius Scipio and his brother Africanus. Peace was then granted to Antiochus, (481) on condition that he should give up all the countries on this side of Mount Taurus in Greece. (482) The fate of the two generals, Hannibal and Scipio, was soon after determined. Scipio, being charged with taking money from Antiochus for the peace lately concluded with him, retired to Liternum in Campania, where he died, exclaiming in severe terms against his ungrateful country*. His great rival Hannibal was demanded of Prusias, king of Bythinia, by the Roman ambassadors. Prusias was under the necessity of obeying; and Hannibal, rather than fall into the hands of his enemies, poisoned himself.

* He ordered the following epitaph to be inscribed on his tomb. *Ingrata patria! ne ossa quidem mea habes:* "Ungrateful country! thou hast not even my bones."

CHAPTER VI.

The third Punic War—Destruction of Carthage.

A. U. 553.—608.

CARTHAGE still continued the principal object of Roman jealousy. (483) A disagreement between Massinissa and the Carthaginians, about the limits of their territories, furnished fresh pretence for quarrelling. The decision was referred to the Romans, who obliged the Carthaginians to give up to Massinissa, the country in dispute. This gave rise to the third Punic war.

Carthage, now become a state existing only by the mercy of the conquerors, was liable to fall at the slightest breath of their indignation. Cato, (484) the censor, never spoke in the senate on public business, but he ended his speech by inculcating the necessity of its destruction. His opinion was at last unanimously approved. It was therefore declared in the senate, that Carthage must be destroyed*; and both consuls were sent with orders for this purpose.

The most tremendous thunder from above could not have affected the Carthaginians more than this sentence of the Romans. Driven to desparation, they knew not which way to act. (485) They rent their clothes, and rolled themselves in the dust; but recovering from the first emotions of despair, though destitute of men and arms, they instantly resolved to make an obstinate resistance.

Having recalled (487) Asdrubal, who had been banished in compliance with the remonstrances of Rome, (486) they immediately barred the gates of the city. An iron chain was thrown across the entrance of the harbour; and the wealth which ought to have

* *Delenda est Carthago.*

been granted to Hannibal to ensure the dominion of Italy, was now freely resigned. The ardour of hope was supplied by despair; the temples and public buildings were opened to accommodate the workmen; neither sex nor age were exempted from general labour; the deficiency of brass and iron was supplied by gold and silver; and the women, animated by the same sentiments, not only renounced their ornaments, but sacrificed their hair to be converted into strings for the bowmen.

The Romans, who had advanced from Utica to certain conquest, were taught by a shower of darts and stones to respect their adversary. Their rear was harassed by Asdrubal, who had readily obeyed the summons of his country, and with the martial companions of his exile, had hastened to her defence. He occupied an advantageous post, and twice repulsing the attacks of the Romans, alleviated the distress of the besieged by repeated supplies of provisions.

Rome heard with astonishment the resistance of Carthage; when (488) Scipio Æmilius, the son of Æmilius Paulus and by adoption the grandson of Scipio Africanus, having revived the discipline of the troops, prepared to carry on the siege with vigour. This warrior surpassed in renown the former general, and revived by his exploits the surname of the latter. But the virtues of Scipio were not confined to the camp. (489) He was temperate, pious, and generous; a grateful son and an affectionate brother; in the tumult of war he assiduously cultivated the love of literature; and the praises of the learned have justly celebrated the friend of Polybius and the patron of Terence.

The operations of Scipio justified the confidence of Rome. He compelled Asdrubal to retire within the walls of Carthage; he precluded all supplies by land, by a lofty rampart which stretched across the isthmus that joins the peninsula to the continent; and a stupendous mole, which closed the mouth of the harbour, excluded all relief by sea. (490) The Carthaginian

fleet, which had attempted to interrupt his labours, was compelled to retreat with disgrace; and an African army, which had advanced to raise the siege, was defeated and totally destroyed.

A. U. 607. Famine and disease had already thinned the inhabitants of Carthage; the survivors, exhausted with fatigue, had relaxed from their usual vigilance; a narrow passage near the port was explored by the adventurous footsteps of the Romans; and the eagles of the republic, in a fatal moment of security, were displayed in the streets of Carthage. Yet despair still animated the resistance of the inhabitants; during six days every house and court was obstinately disputed: and as they retired, they involved in flames the buildings they had been compelled to abandon. On the seventh day, the Romans steadily advanced to victory amidst falling temples and burning palaces. From the citadel fifty thousand miserable wretches of both sexes implored the compassion of the conquerors; but nine hundred deserters, hopeless of pardon, still maintained the temple of Æsculapius, and shut themselves in with Asdrubal and his family, who seemed to be inspired with the heroic resolution of perishing amidst the ruins of their country.

Asdrubal's love of life, however, surmounting his desire for glory, he privately submitted to the Romans. Scipio instantly shewed him to the deserters, who were so enraged at the sight, that they set fire to the temple. (491) While the flames were spreading, Asdrubal's wife, who appears to have been more courageous than her husband, dressing herself in a very splendid manner, and placing herself with her children within sight of Scipio, thus exclaimed; "I call not down the curses of heaven upon thee, O Roman; for thou seekest only to promote the glory of thy nation. But may the gods of Carthage punish the false wretch who has betrayed his country." Then turning to Asdrubal, she said, "This fire will presently consume me and my children; but as to thee, go, and adorn the triumph of thy conqueror; and suffer in the sight of all Rome the tor-

torments thy crimes so justly merit." Thus saying, she took hold of her children, and having thrown them into the flames, rushed into them herself, and was immediately followed by all the deserters.

(492) For seventeen days the city was abandoned to the rapine and destruction of the soldiers; and at the expiration of that term the magnificence of Carthage was lost in a vast heap of ruins. Such was the end of that celebrated city, which had reigned queen of the commercial world so many years. But those riches, by which it was raised to grandeur, proved its ruin; for affluence sunk the Carthaginians into effeminacy and pusillanimity. (493) So completely was this famous place demolished, that travellers are now at a loss to determine where it actually stood. Some think it was on the spot where Tunis now stands.

Scipio gained such renown by this splendid conquest that he received (494) the surname of Africanus the younger, to distinguish him from Africanus the elder, his grandfather by adoption, and was afterwards made consul of Rome.

CHAPTER VII.

Interesting and curious Particulars.

A. U. 245.—608.

(495) As frequent mention is made both of inferior and splendid triumphs, in the Roman history, it may be proper to distinguish them. The person who received the lesser triumph, marched generally on foot, wearing only a garland or crown of myrtle, with the pretexta, (496) or usual habit of the magistrates, and was attended only by the senate. (497) This the Romans called an ovation, from *ovis* a sheep, which was usually sacrificed on the smaller triumph, as an ox was on the greater or full triumph.

The greater triumph was conducted with the utmost state and magnificence to the citizens. (498) Whenever

a general demanded a triumph, he was obliged to resign his command of the army, and to keep at a distance from Rome, till the honour had been granted or refused. He always wrote to the senate a detail of his conquests; and, if it was thought proper, a triumph was decreed. (499) The general on the day appointed, crowned with laurels, made a speech to the people; after which the senators, preceded by the lower degree of officers, began the march. The spoils taken from the enemy followed; and the conquered cities and nations were represented in gold and silver, and other metal, with the names of the places which the conqueror had subjected to the Roman empire. The priests assisted on this occasion, and led the oxen destined for the sacrifice dressed with ribbands and garlands. These were followed by chariots, wherein the crowns and other ensigns of honour, which the provinces presented to the conqueror to adorn his triumph, were deposited. The captive monarchs and generals, in gold and silver chains, made part of the procession; then followed the officers of the army, with the crowns or keys of the conquered cities. After this, preceded by his relations and friends, came the conqueror crowned with laurel, and seated on an ivory chariot, with an ivory sceptre and an eagle of gold in his hand. An officer usually stood behind him; and lest he should be too much elated with this splendour, cried aloud, "Remember that thou art a man." Before and after his chariot were musical instruments of every kind. The march was closed by the generals and officers of the army. The Roman legions sung congratulatory songs in honour of the conqueror. The procession began without the walls of Rome, by the triumphal gate, and passed through the city to the capitol, under many arches erected and adorned in honour of the triumph. Here the conqueror offered a crown and the *spolia opima* to Jupiter; then sacrifice was made to the god, and the conqueror returned with the same procession to his palace.

(500) The twelve tables of Roman jurisprudence,

imported from Greece, contained the following laws. The robber, who was taken in day, might be beaten with rods, and become the slave of him whom he had robbed; but if he was a slave, his guilt could be only expiated by death, and he was thrown from the top of the capitol. The nocturnal mischief of damaging a neighbour's corn, was considered as equally criminal; and the unhappy culprit was suspended as a victim to Ceres. But a breach of trust might be compensated by restoring double the amount of the value embezzled.

(501) The laws of Romulus had asserted the absolute dominion of the father over his children; and the shackles of filial subjection were riveted by the hand of the decemvirs. Yet some duties were imposed on the master of a family, and the father who had neglected to instruct his child in any trade, could not claim from him that support in old age which otherwise the son was obliged to bestow.

(503) The private testament of a father was authorized by the tables of the decemvirs; and, by the arbitrary disposition of his property, his dominion was perpetuated beyond the grave. But if he died intestate, the order of succession was respected, and his children, or his nearest relations, become his heirs. If he died without relations, those who possessed the same name might claim the inheritance of the deceased.

(503) In the punishment of personal injuries, the decemvirs approved the severe principle of retaliation; and the forfeit of an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, and a limb for a limb, was rigorously exacted, unless the offender could secure his pardon by a compensation agreeable to the expectations of the injured. The dislocation of a bone was fixed at three hundred pounds of brass or copper; and if a slave was the sufferer, one hundred and fifty pounds were deemed a sufficient atonement. A common blow or opprobrious expression was expiated by twenty-five *asses**; but the author of a libel or satire was sentenced to be beaten with clubs; and the incendiary, whose malice set fire to

* Roman coins.

another man's house or corn, was after the previous ceremony of imprisonment and whipping, delivered to the flames. The witness, whom avarice might allure, or envy prompt, to judicial perjury, was thrown headlong from the Tarpeian rock. The murder of a citizen demanded the blood of the murderer; and the preparation of poison, the subtle and therefore most odious means of destruction, was attended with the same punishment. In the opinion of the illiterate Romans, magical incantations could exhaust the strength or extinguish the life of an enemy; and the malice of the criminal, who presumed to utter them, was judged worthy of death. The parricide, who violated the duties of nature and of gratitude, was inclosed in a sack, his head veiled, and thrown into the river or sea. But it was not till the middle of the sixth century that Rome was polluted by this crime; and Lucullus Ostius, after the second Punic war, has established the perpetual infamy of his name, by first imbruing his hands in the blood of a father.

(504) The boundaries of private property, buildings, drains, and roads, were regulated by the accuracy of the decemvirs; and some idea may be formed of their attention to the most minute articles, since the branches of the tree which overshadowed the adjacent field might by the proprietor of the last be lopped to the height of fifteen feet.

(505) Nocturnal and seditious meetings in the city were considered as capital crimes; and (506) the corrupt judge, who accepted bribes to pronounce an iniquitous sentence, could only expiate his guilt by the forfeiture of his life. But the freedom and existence of the Roman citizen were secured from the caprice or resentment of an individual; (507) and it was only in an assembly of the people that the sentence of slavery or death could be pronounced and ratified by a majority of the centuries.

CHAPTER VIII.

Biographical Sketches.

A. U. 245.—638.

MARCUS CURTIUS, an enthusiastic patriot, during the war with the Volsci, rendered his name immortal by his singular resolution. Sallust observes, that the success of the Roman arms, and the grandeur of the Roman state, were not so much owing to the superiority of the people in general over those of other nations, as (508) to the extraordinary qualities of a few great men, who in courage, magnanimity, and particularly in love to their country, excelled all the world, and who, in cases of necessity, infused these virtues into the breasts of their fellow citizens, so as to render them triumphant over all their enemies. With these men it was no uncommon thing to devote themselves to certain death for the real or supposed interest, or even for the honour of their country. Of this there occurred a remarkable instance at this period. (509) The earth happening to open in the forum, made so deep a gulph, that it could not be filled, though great quantities of rubbish were thrown into it. (510) The augurs were therefore consulted, and these ministers of religion declared, that the gulph would never close till the most precious things in Rome were cast into it. The people, for some time, were at a loss to determine what could be meant by the most precious things; till (511) M. Curtius, a young man remarkable for his valour, came into the forum on horseback, and clad in complete armour, said, that nothing surely could be more precious to the Romans than courage and arms; that he was therefore resolved to devote himself as a sacrifice for the safety of his country; and accordingly, having gone through

A. C. 306. the necessary ceremonies, he boldly leapt with his horse and armour into the gulph, which, the historians tell us, immediately closed.

(512) Curius Dentatus was celebrated for his fortitude and frugality. He was three times consul, and was twice honoured with a triumph. He obtained decisive victories over the Samnites, the Sabines, and the Lucanians, and defeated Pyrrhus near Tarentum The ambassadors of the Samnites, having visited his cottage, found him boiling some vegetables in an earthen pot, when they attempted to bribe him by the offer of large presents. He refused their offers with contempt, and said, "I prefer my earthen pots to all your vessels of gold and silver; and it is my wish to command those who are in possession of money, while I am destitute of it and live in poverty."

A. C. 273.

(513) Caius Duilius Nepos was a Roman consul, who obtained the first victory over the naval power of Carthage. He took fifty of the enemies' ships, and was honoured with a naval triumph, which had never before appeared at Rome. The senate rewarded his valour by permitting him to have music played and torches lighted, at the public expence, every night while he was at supper. Some medals were struck in commemoration of this victory; and there still exists at Rome a column, which was erected on the occasion.

A. C. 260.

(514) Cneius Nævius, a Latin poet in the first Punic war, was originally in the Roman armies, but he afterwards applied himself to study, and wrote comedies, besides a poetical account of the first Punic war, in which he had served. His satirical disposition displeased the consul Metellus, who drove him from Rome. He passed the rest of his life in Utica, where he died, about two hundred and three years before the Christian æra. Some fragments of his poetry are extant.

(515) Marcus Accius Plautus was a comic poet

born at Sarsina, in Umbria, who from competence was reduced to poverty by engaging in a commercial line. To maintain himself, he entered into the family of a baker as a common servant, and while he was employed in grinding corn, his mind was devoted to the comic muse. He wrote twenty five comedies, of which twenty are extant. He died about one hundred and eighty-years before the Christian æra. The plays of Plautus were universally esteemed at Rome, and the purity, the energy, and the elegance of his language, were by other writers considered worthy of imitation. In the Augustan age, when the Roman language became more pure and refined, the comedies of Plautus did not appear free from inaccuracy. The poet, compared to the more elegant Terence, was censured for negligence in versification, low wit, and trifling puns. His works continued, however, to be highly favoured on the stage. The incidents of his plays were varied, the acts interesting, and the catastrophe natural. In the reign of the emperor Diocletian, his comedies were still acted in the public theatres, and no greater compliment can be paid to his abilities as a comic writer, than to observe, that for five hundred years, with all the disadvantage of obsolete language, in spite of the change of manners and the revolutions of goverument, he commanded applause.

(516) Quintus Ennius, an ancient poet, born at Rudii, in Calabria, obtained the name and privileges of a Roman citizen by his genius and the brilliancy of his learning. His style is rough and unpolished, but his defects, which are more particularly attributed to the age in which he lived, have been fully compensated by the energy of his expressions, and the fire of his poetry. Quintilian warmly commends him, and Virgil gives testimony to his poetical merit, by introducing many lines into his own compositions; which he calls pearls gathered from the dunghill. Ennius wrote in heroic verse eighteen books of the annals of the Roman republic, and displayed much knowledge of the world in some dramatic and satirical compositions. He died of

the gout, contracted by frequent intoxication, about one hundred and sixty nine years before the Christian æra, in the seventieth year of his age. Ennius was intimate with the great men of his age; he accompanied Cato in his questorship in Sardinia; and his society was esteemed by him of greater value than the honours of a triumph. Scipio, on his death bed, ordered his body to be buried by the side of his poetical friend. Conscious of his merit as the first epic poet of Rome, Ennius bestowed on himself the appellation of the Homer of Latium. Of the tragedies, comedies, annals, and satires which he wrote, nothing remains but fragments fortunately collected from the quotations of ancient authors.

(517) Archimedes, a famous geometrician of Syracuse, invented a machine of glass which faithfully represented the motion of the heavenly bodies. When Marcellus, the Roman consul, besieged Syracuse, Archimedes constructed machines which suddenly raised into the air the ships of the enemy from the bay before the city, and let them fall with such violence into the water that they sunk. He set them also on fire with burning glasses. When the town was taken, the Roman general gave strict orders to his soldiers not to hurt Archimedes, and even offered a reward to him who should bring him alive and safe into his presence. All these precautions were useless: the philosopher was so deeply engaged in solving a problem, that he was even ignorant that the enemy were in possession of the town; and a soldier, not knowing who he was, killed him, because he refused to follow him. Marcellus raised a monument over his body, and placed on it a cylinder and a sphere; but the place remained long unknown, until Cicero, during his questorship in Sicily, discovered it near one of the gates of Syracuse surrounded with thorns and brambles. The story of his burning glasses had appeared fabulous to the moderns, till the experiments of Buffon demonstrated it beyond contradiction. These celebrated glasses were supposed to be reflectors made of

metal, and capable of producing their effect at the distance of a bow-shot. Archimedes used to say, (518) "Give me a place to stand on, and I will move the earth with the greatest ease."

(519) Publius Terentius, a native of Carthage in Africa, is celebrated for his excellent comedies. He was sold as a slave to Terentius Lucanus a Roman senator, who educated him with great care, and manumitted him for the brilliancy of his genius. He bore the name of his master and benefactor, and was called Terentius. He applied himself to the study of Greek comedy with uncommon assiduity, and merited the friendship and patronage of the learned. Scipio, the elder Africanus, and his friend Lælius, have been suspected, on account of their intimacy, of assisting the poet in the composition of his comedies; and the fine language, the pure expressions, and delicate sentiments, with which the plays of Terence abound, seem to favour the supposition. Terence was in the twenty-fifth year of his age, when his first play appeared on the Roman stage. All his compositions were received with great applause; but when the words, "I am a man, and feel as a man," were repeated in the author's expressive language *, the audience, though composed of foreigners, conquered nations, allies, and citizens of Rome, were unanimous in applauding the poet, who spoke with such elegance and simplicity the language of nature. The talents of Terence were employed rather in translation, than in the effusions of originality. It is said that he translated one hundred and eight comedies of the poet Menander, six of which only are extant. Terence is admired for the purity of his language, the artless elegance and simplicity of his diction, and a continued delicacy of sentiment. There is more originality in Plautus, more vivacity in the intrigues, and more surprise in the catastrophes of his plays; but Terence will ever be admired for his taste, his expressions, his faithful pictures of nature, and the becoming dignity of his characters. Quintilian, who

* *Homo sum; humani nihil a me alienum puto.*

candidly acknowledges the deficiencies of Roman comedy, declares that Terence was the most elegant and refined of all the comedians whose writings appeared on the stage. The time and manner of his death are unknown. He left Rome in the thirty-fifth year of his age, and never returned. Some supposed that he was drowned in a storm on his way from Greece, about one hundred and fifty-nine years before Christ; others imagine he died in Arcadia or Leucadia, and that his death was accelerated by the loss of his property, particularly of his plays, which perished in a shipwreck.

(520) Marcus Portius Cato, afterwards called Censorius from having exercised the office of censor, rose to all the honors of the state. (521) The first battle he saw was against Hannibal, at the age of seventeen, when he behaved with uncommon valour. In his questorship under Africanus against Carthage, and during his expedition in Spain against the Celtiberians, and likewise in Greece, he displayed equal proofs of courage and prudence.

Not only the public edifices, the construction of temples and aqueducts, which religion and policy might prompt, displayed the increasing opulence of Rome; but the houses, the habits, and the entertainments of her citizens, proclaimed the fortunes amassed in the pursuit of conquest. The graver senators yielded with a sigh to the progress of luxury; but the severe virtue and inflexible spirit of Cato impelled him to oppose the torrent. When Italy was oppressed by the arms of Hannibal, the necessities of the state exacted the most rigid economy; and by the Oppian law proposed by the tribune Oppius, the ladies of Rome were restricted the use of carriages within the city, or at less than the distance of a mile from its walls. They were also forbidden to appear in robes of various colours, or to exceed in their ornaments half an ounce of gold. But when the battle of Zama had dissipated the fears of Italy, the Roman matrons aspired to participate in the rewards of vic-

tory. They demanded a repeal of the Oppian law; and their tumultuous importunities were alone opposed by the stern eloquence of Cato, who at that time was invested with the high authority of consul.

"Our prerogatives," said that inexorable magistrate, "having been overturned at home by female ambition, are now also contemned and trampled upon in the forum. But let us hear the reason why our matrons thus deluge our streets, and scarcely forbear mounting the rostrum to harangue the people. Is it to redeem their fathers, or their husbands, their children, or their brothers, from the chains of Hannibal? Their importunities are sanctioned by no such pretences. It is to demand the privilege of dazzling the spectators by their habits of purple and ornaments of gold; of triumphing in their chariots over the law and the suffrages of the citizens. You have often, Romans, heard me complain of the profusion which has not only infected private persons, but even the magistrates. Two different vices taint the city, avarice and luxury; plagues which have been fatal to every great empire. As the conquests of the republic have been extended, we have successively passed into Greece and Asia, countries which teem with temptations; we have already begun to enjoy the treasures of kings; and I fear those riches will acquire more absolute power over us, than we have been able to obtain over the monarchs we have subdued."

The arguments of Cato were resisted by the popular eloquence of Valerius Flaccus, and the wishes of the Roman ladies were gratified by the indulgence of fathers and lovers. The Oppian law was repealed; but when the integrity of Cato raised him to the office of censor, the matrons of Rome were again subject to his iron rule. He promoted a severe inquisition into the equipages, the clothes, and the jewels of women, and taxed each of them tenfold for whatever was found in her wardrobe, exceeding the value of fifty pounds sterling.

The censor, who was thus rigid to others, was not

more indulgent to himself. The dignities, which he successively filled, had not softened the virtue which imitated the frugality of Curius and Fabricius. He shared the labours of the slaves, and often partook of their meals. When he commanded the armies of the republic, the daily allowance of his household was no more than three bushels of wheat for his family, and half a bushel of barley for his horses. In surveying his province, he usually travelled on foot attended by a single domestic, who carried his baggage. Yet Cato had not escaped the imputation of avarice; and his favourite expression, "that the man was godlike indeed, who could double his private fortune," may approve the justice of the censure.

(522) Cato repented only of three things during his life: to have gone by sea when he could go by land; to have passed a day inactive; and to have told a secret to his wife. He distinguished himself as much for his knowledge of agriculture, as of politics. His treatise, "*De re rustica*," is much esteemed. He died at a very advanced age; and a statue was erected to his memory.

A. C. 150.

(523) Cicero, to shew his respect for him, has introduced him in his essay on old age as the principal character.

(524) Polybius, a celebrated historian, was the son of Lycortus, who commanded the forces of the Achæan league, and was born at Megalopolis in Arcadia. He was trained to arms under the celebrated Philopæmen, and was among the hostages, whom the Achæans delivered to Rome as pledges of their future submission. In this station he contracted an intimacy with Scipio; was present at the destruction of Carthage; and beheld with Mummius the plunder of Corinth. In the midst of his prosperity, however, he felt the distresses of his country, which had been reduced to a Roman province, and like a true patriot he relieved its wants, and eased its servitude, by making use of the influence which he had acquired by his acquaintance with the most powerful Romans. After the death of his friend

and benefactor Scipio, he retired from Rome and passed the rest of his days at Megalopolis, where he enjoyed the comforts which every good man experiences from the satisfaction attending a humane and benevolent heart. He died in the eighty-second year of his age, of a wound which he had received by a fall from his horse. (525) A. C. 124.
The universal history of Polybius is admired for its authenticity. He has been recommended in every age and country as the best master in the art of war: and there can be no greater proof of the esteem in which he was held among the Romans than to mention that (526) Brutus, who put Cæsar to death, perused his history with the greatest attention, epitomized it, and often retired from the field, where he had drawn his sword against Octavius and Antony, to read the instructive pages describing the great actions of his ancestors.

BOOK III.

THE ROMAN REPUBLIC, FROM THE DESTRUCTION OF CARTHAGE TO ITS TERMINATION BY THE BATTLE OF ACTIUM, AND THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE REIGN OF AUGUSTUS CÆSAR.

A. U. 608.——723.
A. C. 145.—— 30.

CHAPTER I.

Conquests and Luxury of the Romans—The Gracchi—Jugurtha—Mithridates—Marius and Sylla.

A. U. 608—672.

THOUGH the power of the Romans was now greatly increased, their ambition was not satisfied. (527) Corinth was reduced to ashes; Greece became a Roman province under the title of Achaia; Lusitania was subdued. They then conquered Portugal; and after that, the Numantines, or chief people of Spain. In the space of one century the Romans extended their conquests over the three divisions of the Continent. Thrace, Greece, Africa, Syria, and all the kingdoms of Asia Minor became members of this vast empire. (528) By the spoils brought from the conquered countries a taste for luxury was increased. Effeminacy, immorality, and selfishness succeeded to temperance, severity of life, and public spirit.

As the Romans gradually extended their victorious arms over the weaker states of Italy, (522) they were accustomed to take a certain portion of the conquered lands into their own possession; part of which was sold by auction for the use of the public, and the rest divided among the poorer citizens on the payment of a small quit-rent to the treasury. For the better regulation of these distributions various laws had been passed from time to time under the title of the Agrarian laws. (530) By these laws it had been ordained, that no citizen should possess more than five hundred acres; but the richer citizens getting possession of large tracts of waste land, and adding to these either by force or purchase the smaller pittances of their poor neighbours, by degrees became masters of territories, instead of farms, which threatened the ruin of the industrious husbandman and the extinction of liberty.

On this occasion, (531) Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus undertook the cause of his country. Overpowered with pity at the desolate view of the Hetrurian plains, and animated by the cries of the people, who importunately demanded the restitution of the alienated lands, he resolutely stood forth the advocate of their deserted cause. He proposed putting in execution the Agrarian laws. (532) This produced a civil war, in which he fell an illustrious victim to a rapacious and implacable senate.

(533) Caius Gracchus, following his brother's footsteps, came likewise to an untimely end. Opimius, the consul, was his professed enemy. Gracchus, and his friend Fulvius, were accordingly proscribed by the senate; and it was proclaimed, that whoever should bring the head of either of them, should receive its weight in gold as a reward. Gracchus fled to a grove beyond the Tiber, where he was soon surrounded by his enemies, and finding no possible means of escaping, made his servant kill him, and the servant immediately after killed himself. One of the soldiers cut off the head of Gracchus, and carried it to Opimius; but first, it is said, to make it weigh heavier, he took

out the brains and filled the skull with lead. Fulvius flying to a friend's house was betrayed and slain.

(534) The Numidian war, which commenced about one hundred and twenty-two years before Christ, and lasted five years, afforded many instances of the injustice, haughtiness, and corruption of the Roman senate. (536) Jugurtha, who had usurped the kingdom of Numidia, (537) was put to death, and the country with all Mauritania in Africa became subject to the Romans. Many of the senators had accepted bribes of Jugurtha, who, on his departure from Rome could not repress a sarcasm against its venality. For looking back upon the city, as he passed through one of the gates, "(536) O Rome," said he, "how readily wouldst thou sell thyself, if any man was rich enough to be thy purchaser."

A. U. 631.

Some time after, the Romans turned their arms against Mithridates (531) king of Pontus, one of the most powerful princes of Asia, (539) because he had invaded the territories of the neighbouring petty kings in alliance with the republic. (540) Both Marius and Sylla, two artful and aspiring characters, aimed at the command of this expedition. (541) Marius, though a brave officer, was a bad citizen. He had been the lieutenant of Metellus, general of the African army, whom he supplanted, and contrived to get himself elected consul in his stead. The nobility did every thing in their power to prevent his promotion to the consulship; and he, in revenge, took every opportunity of expressing his contempt of their order. This he particularly shewed in the following speech which he made to the people when he was chosen consul.

"(542) I know, Romans," said he, "that most of those whom you raise to dignities behave in a very different manner when they have obtained them, from their conduct while they are soliciting them. At first they appear industrious, suppliant, and modest; but as soon as they have gained their point, they abandon themselves to sloth. From my earliest youth I have been accustomed to danger and fatigue. What I have

hitherto done from a love of virtue, I shall continue to do from a principle of gratitude. It often happens that a man, whom you have chosen general to command an army, has need of another general to be his master. I know some, who being elected consuls, have begun to read history, and to study the art of war in the books of the Greeks.

"Suffer me now, Romans, to compare with these proud nobles your consul, whom they endeavour to lessen by the title of an upstart. What they learnt from reading and instruction, I have acquired by practice and experience. The knowledge, which they derive from books, I have obtained by many years of actual service. Judge then on which you would set most value. They despise the meanness of my birth, and I their valour. I am reproached with the lowness of my fortune; they with the profligacy of their conduct. All men are the same by nature; consequently, the most worthy are the most noble. If they have a right to despise me, they must then despise their ancestors, who acquired their nobility by virtue. As for me, I cannot boast of my ancestors, but I can repeat my own exploits. Observe, I beseech you, the injustice of my enemies. They pretend to derive lustre from the merit of others, and will not permit me to derive any from my own. But is it not better for a man to be author of his own nobility, than to dishonour that derived from others? You find no order nor eloquence in my words. On that art I do not set a great value. But what I have learnt, and which is of great consequence to the republic, is to handle my sword, to keep my post, to attack or defend a place in the best manner, to fear nothing but infamy, to endure cold and heat, hunger and fatigue, and to have no other bed but the earth.

"They say I live in a coarse manner, because I make no use, at the entertainments I give, of comedians or buffoons; and because I give no more for a slave that is to be my cook, than for one to work in my field. All this is true, and I freely confess it. I was taught

by my father and other virtuous persons, that ornament is for women, as labour is for men; and that arms confer more honor than the most magnificent robes."

(543) Sylla was a patrician, descended from one of the most illustrious families in Rome. He was handsome in his person, and engaging in his address. Insinuating, persuasive, and eloquent, he had the art of bringing over all men to his own way of thinking. Fond of pleasure, but still fonder of glory, he never indulged himself in gratifying the former to the prejudice of the latter. Though naturally vain, he had the art of concealing this foible, and always spoke of himself in very moderate terms. Yet he was excessively lavish of his encomiums on others, and still more so of his money: he lent willingly to all who applied to him, and even anticipated the wishes of those who were too modest to ask. Familiar with the common soldiers, he condescended to imitate their vulgar manners; would drink, laugh, and be merry with them, and could easily bear their coarsest jokes; but he knew how to assume all the stateliness of command, when it was required. In a word he was a perfect Proteus and could transform himself into any shape. He was as great a favorite of the senate, as Marius was of the people. He was therefore appointed by the former to conduct the war against Mithridates. The people, however, reversed this decree, and transferred the command to Marius. (544) Sylla, who was then at the head of the army, was so enraged at this affront, that he advanced with his troops to the gates of the city, and entering it sword in hand threatened immediately to set it on fire, if he met with the least opposition. Marius at first endeavoured to oppose him; but finding it impossible to do it effectually, he left Rome, and was exposed to a variety of adverse fortune. He was so closely pursued by his enemies, that he was obliged to conceal himself in the marshes of Minturnum, where he spent a whole night up to his neck in mud. In this dreadful situation he was seized and conducted to prison, when (545) a Cimbrian slave

was sent to despatch him; but the barbarian had no sooner entered the prison for this purpose, than he was so struck with the awful look and hollow voice of the fallen general, that he threw down his sword, exclaiming that he was incapable of executing his orders.

(546) The governor of the place considered this an omen in Marius's favor, not only set him at liberty, but even furnished him with a ship to carry him from Italy. (574) Marius afterwards landed in Africa, near Carthage, and placed himself in a melancholy manner among the ruins of that desolate place. In a short time he was ordered by the prætor, who commanded, to depart. He instantly resolved to obey; but at the same time desired the messenger to acquaint his master, that he had seen Marius sitting among the ruins of Carthage, intending by that comparison to intimate the greatness of his own fall.

He then went to sea, where he spent the winter, fearful of landing any where, as his arrival in those parts would be immediately known. At last he received intelligence, that affairs at Rome had taken a turn greatly to his advantage by the activity of (548) Cinna, one of his most zealous adherents, who had lately been elected consul, in opposition to the interests of Sylla, who soon after set out for Asia to carry on the war against Mithridates. Cinna, taking advantage of Sylla's absence, exerted himself with so much spirit, that he soon rendered the party of Marius superior to that of his rival; and being joined by Marius, (549) they entered the city, and put every one to the sword who had incurred their displeasure.

Several illustrious senators were murdered in the streets, and were the first victims to the inglorious revenge of Marius. Among the multitude that fell in this bloody massacre was Octavius the consul, who was killed in his tribunal. (550) Merula, the priest of Jupiter, hearing that he was proscribed, ordered his veins to be opened, that his enemies might not have the satisfaction of prescribing the mode of his execution.

(551) The eloquent Mark Antony had found a faithful friend, but one who ruined him by his kindness. This was a poor plebeian, who having a guest of so much importance in his house wished to entertain him in a superior style. Accordingly, he sent his slave to the tavern with orders to buy the best wine he could find. The vintner seeing the slave taste the wine with more care than usual, asked him why his master was become so nice, as not to be content with the wine he usually drank. The slave, who thought he was speaking to a friend, discovered the secret. The vintner ran immediately to Marius, and told him that he had it in his power to put Mark Antony into his hands. This news was received by Marius with transports of joy; he started up, and proposed going to the place himself. But being restrained by his friends, he was satisfied with sending (552) the military tribune Annius, with some soldiers, whom he ordered immediately to bring Antony's head. Annius accordingly undertook the cruel office, and arriving at the place, he staid below, in order to guard the door, while his men went up stairs to put Antony to death. But upon entering the room, they were so charmed with the divine strains of eloquence which he poured forth, that not one of them could lay violent hands on him. (553) At length the tribune began to be impatient, and going up was surprised to see his soldiers completely disarmed by the eloquence of the man they had been sent to destroy. Being as insensible, however, to the charms of rhetoric, as to the calls of humanity, (554) he cut off the head of Antony with his own hand, and carried it to Marius, who received it with savage joy; and after feasting his eyes for some time with this horrid spectacle returned it to Annius, commanding him immediately to fix it on the rostrum. "(555) Thus, on the very place whence Antony, when consul, had so bravely defended the commonwealth, was fixed that head, to which so many citizens were indebted for their safety." This is the remark of Cicero, who little thought, when he was making it, that he was an-

licipating the fate which awaited himself from the grandson of the man whose misfortunes he deplored.

(556) Marius, however, did not long survive these cruelties. Having filled the city with blood, he was found dead, not without suspicion that he had laid violent hands on himself. It is probable that he had dreadful apprehensions of the treatment he had reason to expect on the arrival of Sylla; who (557) having carried on a successful war against Mithridates, and concluded an honourable peace, was returning home with his victorious army, to be revenged on his enemies at Rome.

(558) Great, however, as the power of Sylla was, nothing could prevent Cinna from attempting to repel him. Being joined by Carbo, now elected consul in the room of Valerius, together with young Marius, who inherited the abilities and ambition of his father, he determined to send over part of the forces he had raised in Dalmatia, to oppose Sylla before he entered Italy. Some troops were accordingly embarked; but being dispersed by a storm, the rest, who had not yet put to sea, refused to go. Cinna, enraged at their disobedience, rushed forward to persuade them to do their duty. In the mean time one of the most rebellious soldiers being struck by an officer, returned the blow, and was apprehended for his crime. This severity produced a tumult through the whole army; and (559) while Cinna was employed in appeasing it, he was run through the body by one of the crowd.

Sylla having now arrived on the coast of Asia embarked, and setting sail with a fair wind (560) landed at Brundusium without opposition. While his troops were refreshing themselves, he was joined by (561) Metellus with a large body of new levied forces. But no succour gave him so much pleasure as that brought him by Cneius Pompey, afterwards called Pompey the Great, and at that time scarce twenty-three years of age. (564) His army consisted of three legions, which had been forced to fight their way in order to join (565) Sylla, after giving Brutus, who was a leader in the other

party, a complete overthrow. Sylla received Pompey with unusual marks of distinction, and gave him the title of Imperator. (562) This title was never bestowed on any but such generals as had gained a victory. Pompey being soon after sent for to Rome demanded the honours of a triumph. But Sylla refused his request, and said, that as he had not yet filled any of the great employments of the state, and was too young to be admitted into the senate, it did not become him to sue for an honour, bestowed upon none but consuls, prætors, or dictators. (563) Pompey turning round to his friends said with an audible voice, "The sun, at its rising, is always more worshipped, than at its setting." Sylla, struck with the spirit and boldness of these words, immediately altered his resolution, and exclaimed, "Let him triumph."

Sensible that force alone would not accomplish his ends, Sylla resolved to employ stratagem. He proposed an accommodation and suspension of arms, which were agreed on. (566) His men, taking advantage of this circumstance, went frequently into the camp of Scipio the consul, under pretence of visiting their friends, but in reality to corrupt them; and this they did so effectually, that the whole army deserted to Sylla; nor was Scipio informed of his being forsaken and deposed, till a party of the enemy entering his tent made both him and his son prisoners. (567) Sylla generously gave them their liberty, after having exacted a promise from them, that they would never again bear arms against him. The enemy, however, had still several armies on foot, greatly superior to that of Sylla, and some desperate engagements took place. At length young Marius, who had succeeded his father, being totally defeated in a great battle, shut himself up (568) in Præneste, which was immediately invested. Several attempts were made to relieve the place; but in a little time the inhabitants were reduced to such extremities, that they were obliged to surrender, and were all massacred. (569) Marius, rather than fall into the hands of his enemies, put an end to his

existence. (570) Sylla having now triumphed over all opposition, entered the city at the head of his army; and immediately began those murders and proscriptions which have since rendered him an object of horror.

(571) Being now no longer obliged to wear the mask of lenity, he assembled the people, and required an implicit obedience to his commands. He then proclaimed, that those who wished to be pardoned for their late offences, could only obtain it by destroying the enemies of the state. This was a new mode of proscription, which led to the most dreadful massacres. The arms of the citizens were turned against each other. The senate, amazed at the horrid outcries of the sufferers, thought that the city had been given up to plunder; but Sylla, with an unembarrassed countenance, told them, that it was only some criminals who were to be punished by his orders. The day after, (572) he proscribed forty senators and sixteen hundred knights; and two days after, the same number of senators, with a multitude of the richest citizens. (573) He ordained by public edict that those, who saved or harboured any of the proscribed, should suffer in their place. (574) Slaves, who assassinated their masters, were richly recompensed for their treachery and cruelty; and, more shocking to relate, children, whose hands still reeked with the blood of their parents, came confidently to demand the wages of parricide. (575) But Sylla did not confine his cruelty to particular persons; he extended it to cities, and even to whole states. (576) These he bestowed on his soldiers, and thus attached them more firmly to his interest.

(577) The despotism of Sylla had hitherto been supported by the power of the sword; but he wished to disguise his authority under a more specious claim. No sooner had he satiated his vengeance, than he retired from the capitol, and permitted the senate to assemble with the appearance of freedom; when matters were so conducted, that he was created perpetual dictator. For one hundred and twenty years no

appointment of this kind had taken place. During the former part of that period, it had been opposed by the jealousy of the aristocracy, and during the latter had been resisted by the firmness of the tribunes. (578) It was now revived with unusual solemnity in the person of Sylla, and ratified by an act of the people, who yielded up their own pretensions to sovereignty.

CHAPTER II.

The perpetual dictatorship of Sylla—His Abdication, and death—Lepidus—Spartacus the Gladiator—Crassus—Pompey—Mithridates—Tigranes—Pompey enters the temple of Jerusalem.

A. U. 672.—689.

SYLLA being now invested with absolute power, proceeded to execute it (579) in a most tyrannical manner. He seized on the public treasure, and disposed of the estates of his fellow citizens, of which he gave the greatest part to Crassus, who became the richest man in Rome. There were some, however, who could not bend their necks to the yoke now imposed upon them; and of this number was Julius Cæsar, (580) though then but a stripling. Sylla had commanded him to divorce his wife Cornelia, who was daughter to Cinna. (581) Cæsar refusing to comply, Sylla resolved to proscribe him. (582) But from this cruel resolution he was diverted by the remonstrances of Cæsar's friends, who observed, that Sylla could have nothing to fear from one who was so young. "(583) You may think so," said Sylla; "but I see in him many Mariuses;" an observation that shews Sylla to have been a good judge of human characters.

Sylla having established his authority on so firm a foundation might have enjoyed it till the day of his death; but, (584) to the surprise of the world, he resigned it before he had possessed it three years. The dictator appeared one morning in the forum armed with the usual ensigns of authority, formally renounced his power, dismissed his retinue, and offered to take his trial before the people, to whom he appealed as the judges of his conduct. Astonishment and admiration prevailed on this extraordinary occasion; and as Sylla slowly retired to his own house, the awful silence of the crowd was only interrupted by a single youth, who pursued him to his door with reproaches. Sylla's friends ascribed his abdication to magnanimity; his enemies to fear, or apprehension that some bold spirit would one day arise, who, regardless of the consequences, might deprive him both of life and authority. (585) In the second year of his retirement, his health was interrupted by the attack of a disease, which terminating in a mortification of the bowels put an end to his life. Ten days before his death he wrote his own epitaph, which is more descriptive of his character than pages of laboured composition. " (586) Here lies Sylla, who never was exceeded in doing good to his friends, or injury to his enemies." (587) A. U. 676.

The death of Sylla was no sooner known, than (588) the two factions, which had been kept in awe by the terror of his name, began to break out into the most violent excesses. (589) The consuls Catulus and Lepidus were men of opposite principles. (590) Lepidus was for annulling all the acts of Sylla, and recalling the exiled Marians; but in this he was opposed by his colleague Catulus, who could not forget that Marius had put his father to death. (591) Lepidus, therefore, retired to his government of Gaul, in order to raise a force sufficient to overcome all opposition. The report of his military operations, however, gave such umbrage to the senate, that they soon deprived him of his command. Upon this he

advanced into Italy at the head of a numerous army, (592) when he was defeated by Catulus and Pompey, and obliged to flee (593) into Sardinia, where he soon after died of grief.

(594) About this time the accidental escape of a few gladiators from their confinement at Capua menaced the destruction of the Roman commonwealth. Spartacus, (595) a Thracian captive, with seventy or eighty of his companions, disdaining to shed their blood for the amusement of their masters, burst from their prison, and armed themselves with the weapons of their profession. (596) From their hiding places on Mount Vesuvius they extended their devastation over the adjacent country; were joined by multitudes of desperate slaves; and (597) overthrew the prætor of Capua, who had ventured to engage them. The spoils of the vanquished furnished the insurgents with arms, and the fame of their victory swelled the number of their associates. (598) Instead of a licentious band, Rome was alarmed by the progress of a disciplined host of seventy thousand men. The mind of Spartacus, however, (599) was far from being intoxicated by success. Instead of aspiring to subvert the Roman empire, he limited his views to the freedom and safety of his followers; and directing his march towards the ridge of the Appenines, hoped to gain the Alps, whence he and his associates might readily escape to their native countries, Gaul, Thrace, or Germany. (600) In this attempt he had already obtained some advantages over the consuls Gallius and Lentulus, and if the same prudence had moderated the hope of his companions, they might have eluded the vengeance of Rome. But their spirits were elated by the prospect of dominion, and they refused to exchange the fertile fields of Italy for the dreary waste of their nativity. To subdue this domestic enemy, the dignity of prætor and the chief command in Italy were imposed on (601) Marcus Crassus, the pro-consul of Africa. The vigorous measures of the new magistrate, scarcely known but by his immense wealth, agreeably deceived the

expectation of his friends, and raised the jealousy of his rivals. He began by restoring discipline among the troops, who soon found that under such a commander they must either conquer or die. After cutting in pieces about ten thousand of the enemy, whom he surprised while they were foraging, he defeated the main army of Spartacus in a pitched battle. This gladiator, with such of his troops as had escaped the slaughter, attempted to cross over into Sicily, when he was invested in his own camp. Finding it impossible to elude the attention of the enemy, he resolved once more to try the issue of an engagement, and drew up his troops in the most masterly manner. (602) A horse being brought to him just as the action was to begin, he drew his sword and killed it; then turning to his men, said, "If I am victorious, I shall want no horse; if I am not, I do not intend to make use of one."

This reply so animated his soldiers, that they fought with the utmost fury, and victory for a long time remained doubtful. But at last the valor of the legions carried every thing before it, and a cruel slaughter ensued. (603) Spartacus, being wounded in the thigh with a javelin, defended himself bravely on his knees, holding his shield in one hand, and his sword in the other; but being at last covered with wounds, he fell among a heap of the Romans whom he had sacrificed to his fury, and of his own soldiers who had lost their lives in his defence. (604) Such as escaped rallied afterwards, and were all slaughtered by Pompey, who met them on the Alps as he was returning from Spain. From this action, however, he could claim no great honor, as the slaves were effectually subdued before he encountered them. But as vanity was his ruling passion, he could not refrain, in his letter to the senate, from magnifying the advantage he had lately obtained. "Crassus," said he, "has gained a victory over the slaves; but I have destroyed the very seeds of rebellion."

(605) The indignation of Crassus was roused by

pretensions so injurious to his own glory. (606) Though unequal to his rival in military fame, he had derived considerable lustre from his late exploits; his consequence was increased by his affability, his eloquence, and his riches; the poor and oppressed were sure to find in him a ready advocate and liberal protector. (607) Yet the eyes of the multitude were dazzled by the splendid achievements and invariable prosperity of Pompey. In enumerating his actions on his return from Spain, he reckoned up eight hundred and seventy-one towns which he had reduced, and proportioned his demands to the extent of his services. Though he had not passed through the previous office of questor, ædile, or prætor, he aspired to the honors of a triumph, with the dignity of consul. His ambitious hopes were realized by the partiality of his countrymen; and in the supreme magistracy his name was inscribed with that of Crassus.

(608) By an ancient institution the Roman knights, when they had completed their ten years of military service, presented themselves before the censors, to whom they gave an account of the campaigns they had made, and under what general they had fought; the citizens of Rome beheld with admiration their consul, Pompey the Great, appear in the forum, leading his horse as a simple knight, but dressed in his consular robes, and preceded by his lictors. "Have you completed your ten years of service, and under what generals?" was the question of the censors. "(609) I have completed them, and in all have been myself the general," was the reply of Pompey.

(610) In the mean time the war was carried on against Mithridates, who had fled to Tigranes, (611) king of Armenia. It may not be improper here to mention one instance of the vanity and ostentation of this Armenian king. Having obtained some conquests, he was grown so insupportably proud that he obliged four kings, whom he had taken prisoners, to run by his side as footmen; and when he was seated on his throne, made them stand before him in a dejected

posture, with folded arms. The deluded Tigranes, blinded with vanity and presumption, reflected not on the short duration of human life, which is every moment displaying some unexpected vicissitudes. He could not foresee that he, who then thought himself a god, would in a short time be conquered by a Roman; that his own capital would be taken by (612) Lucullus, and himself driven to distress. Happy are those who are taught wisdom by misfortunes; but happier those whose wisdom prevents them!

(613) The consuls, Crassus and Pompey, endeavoured to excel each other in the affections of the people, not from laudable, but ambitious motives. Crassus, in hope to gain them to his interest, ordered a thousand tables to be spread, and gave an entertainment to the whole city.

Pompey, to ingratiate himself with the tribunes, restored to those magistrates all the authority of which Sylla had deprived them. Thus these ambitious men sported with the laws. They increased the power of the senate at one time, and at another that of the people, as it suited their different interests. Pompey, however, carried his point: for the tribunes soon after sent him with five hundred ships, and one hundred and twenty-five thousand troops, against some pirates who infested the coast of Cilicia. After taking from the enemy four hundred ships, and killing ten thousand men, he was honored with a triumph. (614) He was now so highly esteemed, that the command of the army in Asia, then employed against Mithridates, was taken from Lucullus and given to him. Pompey, indeed, was raised by the people to as high a pitch of power as ever Sylla had enjoyed.

But notwithstanding all the cabals which were raised at Rome against Lucullus in favor of Pompey, the former on his return was honored with a triumph; (615) for he brought with him, among other spoils, a great number of valuable books, of which he composed a library. A statue of Mithridates of solid gold, six feet high, his shield enriched with precious stones,

and a number of other things, were exhibited at his triumph. After this celebration, he sunk into luxury and effeminacy.

(616) Pompey, having defeated Mithridates in several battles, obliged him to fly from place to place for shelter. The time too had arrived, when Tigranes, the proud and haughty king of Armenia, was to be convinced that the tide of human affairs does not always carry us through the flowery meads of prosperity. Being reduced to the utmost extremities, he went and threw himself at the feet of the Roman general, gave him his diadem, and sued for peace. Pompey returned the monarch his crown, and granted him peace upon certain conditions, with which he cheerfully complied.

(617) Mithridates at last resolved to come into Europe, and to advance into Italy, as Hannibal had done before. His soldiers, however, refused to follow him. They looked on him as a desperate prince, who, rather than live in obscurity, was determined to die with glory. His schemes hastened his ruin; for his son (618) Pharnaces, taking advantage of this temper of the troops, stirred them up to rebellion, and got himself proclaimed king. Mithridates now sent a messenger, requesting permission to depart; but (619) his son sent back this base and unnatural answer, "Tell Mithridates that he must die." (620) The father, justly exasperated, uttered many terrible imprecations, and among others, wished that his son might one day receive the same message from his own offspring. His reflections were so painful, and his heart so wounded by the ingratitude of this unnatural child, that life became indifferent to him. He therefore resolved, rather than fall into the hands of his enemies, to destroy himself. (621) At the same time he told his wives and daughters that slavery or death must be their portion. They rather chose to die with him than live without him, and therefore drank the fatal draught he had prepared. He then swallowed a dose himself; but, as he had been accustomed to take

antidotes, it had little effect on him; and a confidential slave, who attended him, put an end to his sufferings with his sword. In those times this action was accounted the highest proof of fidelity. Thus perished, (622) in the seventy-second year of his age, Mithridates, who for (623) forty years had occupied the arms of the republic, and who, (624) in his enmity to Rome, seems to have inherited the implacable spirit of Hannibal.

(625) The death of Mithridates left Pompey at leisure to carry his arms still farther into the East. After subduing a number of petty princes, he at last advanced into Judea, where (626) Aristobulus had usurped the government and priesthood from his elder brother Hyrcanus. (627) Interest, and justice prompted him to support the latter; but the former rejected his mediation, and braved his indignation. Animated by the presence of their chief, the party of Aristobulus seized the temple of Jerusalem, and for three months repelled the attacks of the Romans: the walls at length yielded to the engines of the besiegers; the temple was taken by storm; twelve thousand of the citizens perished in its defence; and the conqueror, after having visited with religious awe the holy of holies, and having reinstated Hyrcanus in the priesthood or sovereignty of Judea, took Aristobulus with him to grace his triumph on his return.

CHAPTER III.

Catiline's Conspiracy—Cato—Cicero—Execution of the Conspirators—Death of Catiline.

A. U. 689—694.

WHILE Rome was thus extending her dominions abroad, she was exposed to the most imminent danger at home, from a conspiracy projected and carried on by Lucius Catiline, (628) a man of noble birth, but dissolute manners. (629) From his youth he took delight in civil wars, massacres, and depredations. He was capable of enduring cold, hunger, and fatigue, to a degree that is incredible. His spirit was daring, subtle, and inconstant; covetous of the property of others, lavish of his own; violent in his passions; and possessed of a sufficient share of eloquence when he chose to exert it, to conceal all his vices, and even to assume the appearance of virtue: by this address, he engaged the esteem of some of the best and most worthy men of Rome. His character was at last sufficiently known, and universally held in the greatest detestation. In the proscription of Sylla he had killed his own brother; and he was suspected of murdering his son, in order to make way for his marriage with an abandoned woman, whose beauty was her only recommendation. This crime led him to pursue the most desperate schemes against the state; for his polluted soul could find no rest either by day or night: so incessantly did his guilty conscience torment him. (630) His face was pale, his countenance ghastly, his gait unequal and abrupt, and a certain wildness and fury constantly appeared in his visage and behaviour*. Being in very necessitous circumstances he proposed himself a candidate for the consulship, with no other view but of repairing his broken fortune: but failing

* Sallust.

in his attempt, he joined himself to Piso and some other desperate men, who had formed themselves into a body with a resolution to murder the consuls, and possess themselves of their power. His associates were men of similar characters and pursuits; bankrupt in their fortunes, profligate in their lives; whose only hope of restoring their credit, and concealing their infamy, was the subversion of the republic, and the destruction of all civil government.

(631) Their designs, however, were frustrated before they were ripe for execution. Catiline, resolving to raise a general insurrection in Italy, set fire to the city of Rome. (632) In the mean time, two of the conspirators were sent to murder the great Cicero, who was the most inveterate enemy of Catiline; but as he had early notice of their intentions, he not only took proper measures to save his own life, but also to provide for the safety of the city. (633) In the mean time Catiline, with the most consummate impudence, went to the senate, and declared his innocence in so specious a manner, that some of the patricians began to look on the whole as a false accusation preferred against him by his enemies.

Cicero, who had hitherto heard him with patience, could no longer conceal his resentment, but standing up laid open with his usual eloquence the whole nature of the conspiracy. Catiline attempted to make a reply to what Cicero had advanced, but having made use of some illiberal reflections on that celebrated orator, the rest of the senators refused to hear him. Convinced that he had nothing more to hope from dissimulation, he gave way to the natural violence of his disposition. "Since," exclaimed he, with a menacing aspect, "you are determined to listen to the suggestions of my enemies, the flame that you have kindled in my fortunes shall be extinguished in the ruins of the commonwealth."

(634) From the senate he hastened with furious steps to his own house, and after a short conference with (635) Lentulus and Cethegus, two of his friends,

he exchanged his senatorial habit for that of a warrior, and attended by a small retinue, hastened to the confines of Hetruria, where Manlius, another of the conspirators, had promised to meet him with a formidable army. Conscious guilt urged him to the most desperate enterprises; for he well knew that nothing could screen him from justice but the success of his plan.

(636) The eloquence of Cicero, in the mean time, made the people exert themselves in securing all those whom they suspected of treasonable practices, when Lentulus, Cethegus, and some others, were immediately committed to prison. (637) Witnesses were produced against them among the Allobroges, natives of that country now called Savoy, who shewed letters from Lentulus, in which he had persuaded them to take up arms against the Roman state.

Great debates arose in the senate concerning the manner in which the conspirators should be punished, and many were of opinion that they should be instantly put to death. But when it came to the turn of Julius Cæsar to deliver his sentiments, he said, that it would be a dangerous precedent in a free state, where power often falls into bad hands, to inflict capital punishment contrary to the institutes of their ancestors. (638) "My advice therefore is," added he, "that they should be condemned to perpetual imprisonment, that the remainder of their days may be spent in wretchedness, while their consciences are tormented with the remembrance of their crimes."

This motion made by Cæsar was strongly opposed by (639) Marcus Porcius Cato, whose very enemies confessed with admiration the unblemished integrity of his life. That virtuous citizen painted in glowing colours the fatal consequences of cautious or dilatory measures. "Both within and without the walls our enemies" said he, "are numerous. While Catiline with fire and sword is hastening to your gates, do you hesitate whether you will cut off or spare his associates, who are taken with the torch in their hands

and the dagger at your breast? You must strike those who are now in your power, if you mean to intimidate those who are advancing. It is not the fate of Lentulus you decide, but that of the army of Catiline. It is therefore my opinion, that since the criminals have been convicted, both by testimony and their own confession, of a detestable treason against the republic, they should suffer the punishment of death according to the custom of our ancestors."

(640) The remonstrances of Cato, the consideration of their own danger and that of the republic, awakened the senators from their lethargy; a sentence of death was immediately passed on the culprits; and (614) the execution of it devolved on Cicero. Attended by a strong guard of the patrician and equestrian order, the consul conveyed the unhappy Lentulus and his associates through the forum to the common prison; the crowd followed in silent astonishment, and beheld in awful consternation a patrician of the Cornelian family of the first rank in the republic, and who had himself been invested with the consular dignity, led away in bonds to perish under the hands of the public executioner. The fear of a rescue shortened the sufferings of the criminals; and as Cicero returned, he proclaimed to the multitude the fate of the conspirators. (642) Popular pity or applause are generally the emotions of the moment; and the caprice of the crowd, which had just bewailed the destiny of the criminals, now hailed Cicero with clamorous approbation, (643) as the preserver of his country, and second founder of Rome.

(644) In the mean time Catiline, who had retired into Hetruria, had assembled a body of about twelve thousand men. He naturally hoped, if his schemes at Rome succeeded, that he should soon see himself at the head of a numerous army; but, on hearing of the execution of his friends, his heart began to fail, and he endeavoured to escape into Gaul. (645) This was prevented by the activity of Antonius, the consul, and Metellus Celer. Convinced at length of the impossibility of retreating, and expecting no mercy if he

surrendered at discretion, he resolved to try the fate of a battle. He therefore ventured to engage the army of Antonius, which was commanded by his lieutenant Petreius; for the consul either had, or pretended to have the gout. The battle was short, but desperate. (646) Catiline's army was entirely cut to pieces. Yet amidst defeat, the rebels maintained the reputation of undaunted courage; each fell at his proper post; nor was the daring spirit of Catiline less conspicuous in the last hour than it had been through the whole course of his life. (647) He called to mind the high quality and the station to which he had aspired; then casting a look of despair on his broken ranks, he precipitated himself into the thickest of the legions. His body was found, at a distance from his own soldiers, amidst a pile of slaughtered enemies, still breathing and retaining the same fierceness of countenance in death, for which he had been remarkable in life.

CHAPTER IV.

Crassus, Pompey, and Cæsar, the first Triumvirate—The Battle of Pharsalia—Death of Pompey.

A. U. 694—706.

(648) THE consulship of Cicero was the glory of his manhood, and the favorite theme of his old age. Amidst storms and quicksands he had steered the vessel of the state with courage and dexterity; and on the expiration of his authority, instead of the usual oath, that "he had discharged the trust reposed in him with fidelity," he solemnly swore "that he had saved the republic from destruction;" the acclamations of the people confirmed the sacred asseveration, and their tumultuous gratitude pronounced, "that he had sworn truly."

(649) The extinction of the conspiracy, however, did not restore tranquillity to the republic, for it was again disturbed by the election of three much greater and more powerful men than any of the late conspirators. These were Pompey, Cæsar, and Crassus. (650) Crassus was the richest man in Rome; Pompey, the most popular general; and Cæsar the ablest commander, as well as the most artful politician. (651) This celebrated man was descended from the ancient kings of Rome by his mother's side, who sprung from Ancus Marcius; and by the father's side, he came from the Julian family, which he traced up to Venus, in order to throw a greater lustre round his pedigree. He lost his father at the age of sixteen. Having divorced Cossulia, his first wife, he married Cornelia, daughter of Cinna, by whom he had Julia, the wife of Pompey. To avoid the fury of Sylla, who entered his name in the proscribed list, Cæsar was obliged for some time to banish himself; but at last he obtained a pardon, at the intercession of the vestal virgins and some other friends. (652) His first campaign was in Asia, at his return from which he went to Rhodes to complete his studies. He then returned to Rome, where he was elected military tribune, and soon after questor. It was in this capacity that he went into Spain by the prætor's order to visit the assemblies there, and administer justice. It is said, that in passing by Cadiz, (653) he entered the temple of Hercules, where seeing the picture of Alexander the Great, he could not help weeping to think that he had not performed any remarkable action at an age, when Alexander had conquered the world. Some years after he was chosen prætor, and at the same time governor (654) of Spain. He conducted himself with so much spirit and prudence that he greatly extended the limits of the province. On his return to Rome, he demanded both a triumph and the consulship. But to obtain these two honors at the same time was by the laws impracticable; because no man that demanded a triumph could enter Rome till his request was granted

nor could any one stand candidate for the consulship, unless he appeared in person. (655) Cæsar wished these formalities to be dispensed with; but Cato insisting upon the strict observance of the law, he was obliged to give up his hopes of a triumph, and confine himself to the consulship. His ambitious views now began to be pretty well known, and it was suspected that he would have put himself at the head of Catiline's conspiracy had it succeeded. But the ill success of that attempt, and the remembrance of the death of the two Gracchi, convinced him that the favour of the people could not alone protect him from danger. He saw that it would be impossible to seize upon the supreme power, unless he could command the armies, and form a party in the senate. That assembly was now divided into two factions, one of which adhered to Pompey; and the other to Crassus. Cæsar reconciled these rivals for power; and joining himself to them, they mutually agreed that nothing should thenceforth be done in the republic in opposition to their respective interests, or without their consent and approbation. (656) This coalition formed the first triumvirate, which destroyed the power of the senate as well as that of the people, and was as serious a combination against the liberties of Rome as Catiline's conspiracy.

The first thing Cæsar did, upon being taken into the triumvirate, was to avail himself of the interest of his confederates to obtain the consulship. The senate had still some influence; and though they were obliged to concur in choosing him, yet (657) they gave him for a colleague Bibulus, as a check upon his power; but (658) the authority of Cæsar was too strong to be resisted, even by superior abilities. Bibulus, after a slight attempt in favour of the senate, was obliged to continue inactive the remaining part of the year.

Cæsar, uncontrolled in his views, began his schemes for empire, by ingratiating himself with the people; (659) his next object was to deliberate with his confederates about sharing the foreign provinces of the

empire. The partition was soon agreed on: Pompey made choice of Spain; as he knew it could be easily governed by his lieutenant. Crassus chose Syria, which had enriched the general who subdued it, and therefore promised to gratify his favourite passion. To Cæsar were left the provinces of Gaul, composed of many fierce and powerful nations; most of them independent, and the rest scarcely professing a nominal subjection. Wherefore, as it was rather appointing him to conquer than command, the government was granted to him for five years.

There was an object, however, in Cæsar's way, which seemed to blast his hopes, and which he wished to have removed previous to his setting out. This was (660) Tullius Cicero, who, by his penetration and eloquence, had defeated the conspiracy of Catiline, and continued a watchful guardian over the liberties of Rome. This great orator and statesman, from a very humble origin, had raised himself to the first rank in the state. He was endowed with all the wisdom and virtue that could adorn a man. In order, therefore, to expel him from the republic, Cæsar resolved to take into his party (661) Publius Clodius, a man of patrician birth, dissolute manners, great popularity, and an inveterate enemy to Cicero. He was at this time a tribune of the people, although he had been obliged to get himself adopted by a plebeian, before he could obtain that office. The hopes of revenging himself upon Cicero, in some measure, incited him to accept it; and the concurrence of Cæsar and Pompey soon assured him of success. He therefore publicly began to accuse Cicero for having put the late conspirators to death; who being citizens ought to have been permitted to make a public defence.

(662) Cicero, surprised at this accusation, endeavoured to oppose it; but finding it impossible to avoid the storm which was gathering, he applied to Cæsar to be taken as his lieutenant into Gaul. Clodius diverted him from that design, by pretending that his enquiry was rather a matter of form than revenge.

Pompey, too, contributed to put him off his guard by a promise of protection. How often does art concealed by very moderate abilities become the scourge of wisdom and virtue! It was in vain that this master of eloquence pleaded his cause: those powers of oratory, which had so often been exerted in favour of others, seemed to have totally forsaken him. (663) In the habit of a suppliant, attended by some young noblemen whom he had instructed in philosophy, he went through the streets of the city soliciting advocates for his defence; but the tide of vicious popularity in favour of his enemies prevented his friends from assisting him; he was banished, by the votes of the people, four hundred miles from Italy; his houses were ordered to be demolished, and his goods exposed to sale. (664) None now remained that could defend the part of the senate but Cato, and he was soon after sent to Cyprus, in order to leave an open theatre for the triumvirate. Cæsar, during these intrigues, pretended to be an unconcerned spectator, and to be wholly occupied in his preparations for going into Gaul.

Having left Pompey to guard their mutual interests at home, he marched into his province at the head of four legions, where conquest crowned every undertaking. (665) The Helvetians were the first who were brought into subjection, with the loss of near two thousand men. (666) The Germans, with Ariovistus at their head, were next cut off, to the number of eighty thousand; their monarch himself narrowly escaped in a little boat across the Rhine. (667) The Belgæ were destroyed with such slaughter, that marshes and deep rivers were rendered passable by the heaps of slain. (668) The Celtic Gauls, though powerful at sea, were also subdued; and after them the Suevi, the Menapii, and all the nations from the Mediterranean to the British sea.

(669) Besides these conquests, Cæsar made two expeditions into Britain, and obliged the inhabitants to acknowledge his authority, and promise to pay tribute

to the Romans. (670) Cæsar's great assiduity in providing for his army, his skill in disposing them for battle, and his amazing intrepidity during the engagement, render him in the estimation of many writers one of the greatest generals among the ancients. But in one thing his superiority was incontestible; namely, in his humanity to the vanquished. This virtue was little known or cherished at this period; therefore, the hero who was distinguished by it, appeared to be something more than mortal.

(671) Crassus carried on an unsuccessful war against the Parthians in Syria, and there lost his life. One of the triumvirate being thus taken off, the jealousy of the other two was very soon displayed. (672) Pompey was not able to bear an equal, nor Cæsar a superior; and thus the country was again involved in a civil war.

Pompey being the acknowledged general of the commonwealth, the senate and consuls closely adhered to him. His rival, however, being most popular, the senate proposed that he should be called home. Previous to his return, and before the resolution could pass, Cæsar, like an able politician, had brought over some of the most respectable citizens to his interest; among whom was Curio, one of the tribunes of the people, a man endowed with that species of eloquence which is calculated to rouse and inflame. (673) This man, in a public speech, insisted that Cæsar should lay down his office of commander in Gaul, and that Pompey should set him the example; as both had been longer in power than was consistent with the safety of the state. Pompey, who had been deceived by false representations, was easily led into the snare, and seemed willing to resign; but Curio having dismissed the senate in virtue of his office, (674) Marcellus, who was attached to Pompey from motives of friendship convoked it again, when it was agreed that Cæsar should be recalled, and that Pompey should continue still in office.

(675) Cæsar being informed that he had no reason to expect any favor from the senate, marched his

troops over the Alps to Ravenna, from whence he sent a letter, offering to give up all his offices, on condition that Pompey did the same; adding, that if his proposal was not immediately accepted, he would appear as an enemy before the gates of Rome, in order to establish justice among his countrymen, who had long laboured under oppression from those whose duty it was to govern them with equity. The senate, irritated at his conduct, immediately decreed that Cæsar should resign his government, and disband his forces, within a limited time; and, if he refused obedience, that he should be declared an enemy to the republic.

These violent proceedings, however, made little impression upon Cæsar. (676) The night before his intended expedition into Italy, he sat down to supper, cheerfully conversing with his friends on subjects of literature and philosophy, and apparently disengaged from every ambitious idea. Rising up, however, under the pretext of transacting some affairs of consequence, he desired the company to make themselves cheerful in his absence, and said he would soon be again with them. In the mean time having made the necessary preparations, he immediately set out, attended by a few friends, for Ariminum, a city on the confines of Italy, whither he had despatched a part of his army the preceding morning. This journey by night he performed with great perseverance, sometimes walking, and sometimes on horseback, till at the break of day he came up with his army, which consisted of about five thousand men, near the Rubicon, a little river which separates Italy from Gaul, and which terminated the country under his command. (677) The Romans had been taught to consider this river as the sacred boundary of their domestic empire; the senate had long before made an edict, which is still to be seen engraven on the road near Rimini, by which they branded with sacrilege and parricide any person who should presume to pass the Rubicon with an army, a legion, or even a single cohort. Cæsar, therefore, when he advanced at the head of his army to the side of the river, stopped upon the bank,

as if impressed with awe at the rashness of his enterprise. The dangers he was to encounter, the slaughters that might ensue, the calamities of his native city, all presented themselves to his imagination in gloomy perspective, and struck him with remorse. He pondered for some time in fixed melancholy, looking upon the river, and debating within himself, whether he should venture. "If I pass this river," said he to one of his generals who stood by him, "what miseries shall I bring upon my country! and, if I stop, I am undone." Thus saying, and resuming all his former temerity, he plunged, crying out, "that the die was cast, and all was now over." His soldiers followed him with equal promptitude, and quickly arriving at Ariminum, made themselves masters of the place without resistance.

This unexpected enterprise excited the utmost terror in Rome. (678) Every one imagined that Cæsar was leading his army to lay the city in ruins. The citizens were seen flying into the country for safety, and the inhabitants of the country flocking for shelter to Rome. In this universal confusion, (679) Pompey felt that repentance and self-condemnation, which must necessarily arise from the remembrance of having advanced his rival to his present height of power. Wherever he appeared, many of his former friends were ready to accuse him of supineness, and sarcastically to reproach his ill-grounded presumption. "(680) Where is now," said a senator of his party, "the army that is to rise at your command?" (681) Cato reminded him of many admonitions, to which he could never prevail on him to attend. Being at length wearied out with these reproaches, he did all that lay in his power to encourage and confirm his followers. He told them that they should not want an army, and that he would be their leader. He confessed, indeed, that he had long mistaken Cæsar's aims; but if his friends were still inspired with the love of freedom, they might yet enjoy it in whatever place necessity should happen to conduct them.

(683) The consuls, with great part of the senators, followed the fortune of Pompey, who removed (682) from the neighbourhood of Rome to Apulia on the Adriatic sea.

(684) In a short time after, Cæsar made himself master of Rome, and seized the public treasure deposited in the temple of Saturn. He then went into Spain, where Fabius joined him with three legions. (685) In a bloody engagement, he soon after vanquished Petreius and Afranius, Pompey's generals, and obliged their armies to surrender prisoners of war.

(686) Pompey passed over into Greece, where he made great preparations to support his cause, and engaged all the East in his interest. (687) He also drew large sums of money out of Asia, and (688) gained great advantage over Dolabella and Caius Antonius, commanders of Cæsar, on the coast of Illyricum. — (689) Crowds of the most distinguished citizens and nobles from Rome came every day to join him. He had at one time above two hundred senators in his camp, among whom were Cicero and Cato, whose approbation of his cause was equivalent to an army.

(690) Notwithstanding these advantages, Cæsar proceeded with his usual vigour, and resolved to face his rival in the East. He led his forces to Brundusium, a sea-port town in Italy, in order to transport them into Greece. Having landed at Pharsalia he sent an officer to Pompey, with proposals of accommodation. "I disdain to hold my life as a favor from Cæsar, by whom I have been so long deceived," was that general's indignant reply.

(691) After several skirmishes and battles on both sides, the armies of Pompey and Cæsar met on the plains of Pharsalia. The two generals went from rank to rank encouraging their men, raising their hopes, and lessening their apprehensions, "You are engaged," said Pompey, "in the defence of liberty and of your country. You are supported by its laws, and followed by its magistrates. The whole world are wishing you success. On the contrary, he whom you oppose is a

robber and oppressor. Shew then that ardour for liberty, and detestation of tyranny, which should animate Romans, and do justice to mankind."

Cæsar, with that steady serenity for which he was so much admired in the midst of danger, exerted his utmost skill to inspire his troops with vigour and activity. He told them, with an air of the highest satisfaction, that the long wished for moment was arrived, in which it was in their power to gain immortal honor. The soldiers answering his speech with looks of ardour and impatience, he gave the signal to advance. There was only so much space between the armies as to allow them to fight; wherefore Pompey ordered his men to receive the first attack, without stirring from their places. Cæsar's soldiers were now rushing on with their usual impetuosity, when perceiving the enemy motionless, they stopped short, as if by general consent, and halted in the midst of their career.

A terrible pause ensued, in which the armies continued to gaze on each other with mutual horror and dreadful anticipation. At length Cæsar's men rushed furiously upon the enemy, first discharging their javelins, and then drawing their swords. Pompey's troops vigorously sustained the attack, and pursued the same plan. In the mean time, Cæsar's army beginning to lose ground, he ordered the six cohorts to advance, and strike their javelins into the faces of the enemy's horsemen. This unusual method of fighting put the cavalry of Pompey into such confusion, that they fled in great disorder to the neighbouring mountains.

Cæsar now commanded the cohorts to pursue the enemy, and advancing, charged Pompey's troops on the flank. This charge they withstood for some time with great bravery, till he brought up his third line, which had not yet engaged. Pompey's infantry being thus doubly attacked, in the front by fresh troops, in the rear by victorious cohorts, could no longer resist, but fled to their camp, the strangers setting the example; though Pompey's right wing still valiantly maintained their ground.

In this critical moment, Cæsar discovered one of those shining qualities by which many parts of his life had been distinguished. Sure of victory, he called out to his men to pursue the strangers, but not to offer any injury to a Roman. This order had so good an effect, that they immediately laid down their arms, and submitted to what terms the conqueror thought proper to prescribe. They were then incorporated with Cæsar's forces, of whom the loss was inconsiderable; while that on the other side, amounted to fifteen thousand.

As soon as Cæsar entered the enemy's camp, he was surprised to see the luxurious splendor that appeared in the tents of the chiefs. He would not, however, suffer the soldiers to touch any thing, till he had defeated those who had taken shelter in the mountains, sensible of the fatal effects of luxury, by which the best disciplined armies had been enervated.

(692) Pompey immediately set out for Egypt in hopes of finding a protector in (693) Ptolemy, king of that country, whose father Pompey had settled upon the throne. The king being very young, (694) his counsellors said, that to admit Pompey was making him their master, and drawing on them Cæsar's resentment; and by not receiving him, they offended the one, without obliging the other; therefore, (695) the only expedient left, was to give him leave to land, and then to kill him: this would at once oblige Cæsar, and rid them of all apprehension from Pompey's resentment.

(696) This advice prevailing in a council composed of the slaves of an effeminate and luxurious court, Achillas, commander of the forces, and Septimius, who had formerly been a centurion in Pompey's army, were appointed to put it in execution. Attended by three or four more, they went into a little bark, and rowed towards Pompey's ship, which lay about a mile from the shore. When Pompey and his friends saw the boat moving towards them, they began to wonder at the meanness of the preparations to receive them;

and some even ventured to suspect the intentions of the Egyptian court. But before any thing could be determined, Achillas was come to the ship's side, and in the Greek language welcomed him to Egypt. He then invited him into the boat, alleging, that the shallows prevented larger vessels from coming to receive him. Pompey imprudently did as they desired; and as he was stepping out of the boat, they treacherously murdered him. Having cut off his head, they caused it to be embalmed, the better to preserve its features, designing it as a present for Cæsar. The body was thrown naked on the strand, and exposed to the view of all whose curiosity led them to examine it. However, his faithful freedman Philip still kept near it, and when the crowd was dispersed, he washed it in the sea, and looking round for materials to burn it he perceived the wreck of a fishing-boat; of which he composed a pile. (697) While thus employed, he was accosted by an old Roman soldier, who had served under Pompey in his youth. "Who art thou," said he, "that art making these humble preparations for Pompey's funeral?" Philip having answered, that he was one of his freedmen: "Alas!" replied the soldier, "Permit me to share in this honor. Among all the miseries of my exile, it will be my last sad comfort that I have been able to assist at the funeral of my old commander, and touch the body of the bravest hero that ever Rome produced." After this they joined in giving the corpse the last rites, and collecting his ashes, they buried them under a little rising earth, scraped together with their hands, over which was afterwards placed the following inscription: "He, whose virtues deserved a temple, can now scarce find a tomb." So tragical was the end, and so humble the funeral of Pompey the Great, one of the best generals that ever appeared on the theatre of war. He had many opportunities of enslaving his country, but disdained to avail himself of them; his aim was glory, rather than tyranny, and his vanity was greater than his ambition. (698) In the fate of Pompey, how

naturally is the young reader led to reflect on the instability of human grandeur, and the precarious nature of all earthly enjoyments. The ingratitude of the Egyptians cannot fail to excite indignation, and an abhorrence of their treacherous conduct.

CHAPTER V.

Cæsar and Cleopatra — Cæsar defeats Pharnaces — Death of Cato — Assassination of Cæsar.

A. U. 706—710.

IMPATIENT to terminate the war by the captivity of his rival, Cæsar passed over into Egypt, where he was presented with the head of Pompey. (699) He had too much humanity to be pleased with such a horrid spectacle, and gave vent to his pity in a flood of tears. Our compassion is readily awakened by those misfortunes to which we are ourselves exposed; the lifeless features of him, who had once been distinguished as a hero, produced very serious and solemn thoughts in the mind of the victor: though competitors for power and glory, Pompey and himself had once been united in bonds of the strictest friendship.

There were at that time (700) two pretenders to the crown of Egypt; Ptolemy, the acknowledged king, and the famous Cleopatra, his sister. (701) Cleopatra, discontented with a participation of power, aimed at governing alone, and for this purpose wished to have an interview with Cæsar. She was now in the bloom of youth, and every feature borrowed grace from the lively turn of her temper. To the most engaging address she joined the most harmonious voice, which the historians of that period compare to the best tuned instrument. She possessed a great share of the learning of the times, and could give audience to the ambassadors of seven different nations without an interpreter.

The difficulty was how to gain admittance to Cæsar, as her enemies were in possession of all the avenues that led to the palace. For this purpose she went on board a small vessel, and in the evening landed near the palace, where being wrapt up in a coverlet she was carried by one of her servants into his presence. Her address pleased him. Her wit and understanding made a still greater impression in her favour; and her tender intreaties for succour, at length brought him over to second her claims.

(702) Cæsar attacked the Egyptians with various success. At length having defeated their army, and become master of all Egypt by the death of Ptolemy, who perished in the waters of the Nile by endeavouring to make his escape, he appointed Cleopatra and her younger brother, an infant, joint governors.

Cæsar would now willingly have relaxed from the duties of war to devote some moments to love and Cleopatra; but (703) the cares of empire summoned him from the presence of beauty. The submissive voice of Rome had conferred on him the title of dictator; and the dignity of the republic demanded the chastisement of Pharnaces, the son of Mithridates, who had invaded Armenia and Cappadocia. Cæsar gained this victory with so much ease, that in writing to a friend at Rome, (704) he expressed the rapidity of his conquest in three words; *Veni, vidi, vici;* "I came, saw, and overcame;" and when he afterwards triumphed on account of this battle, he caused a tablet to be carried before him, with these words inscribed on it in capitals.

Pompey's party had gathered fresh strength (705) in Africa under Scipio, Cato, and Juba, king of Numidia. Cæsar marched an army into that country, and entirely defeated the enemy at Thapsus, a town on the sea coast. Upon this victory, Zama and other cities immediately surrendered. (708) Scipio was drowned in his passage to Spain; Juba obliged a slave to dispatch him; and (706) Cato retired to Utica, a city in Africa, with about three hundred Romans.

The impossibility of defending this place for any length of time against the power of Cæsar with so small a body of men induced him to harangue his fellow soldiers; but his address having no effect, he besought them to rely on the mercy of the conqueror, since (707) it was impossible to force men to be free who were by nature prone to slavery. "As to myself," said he, "I am at last victorious."

(709) After supping cheerfully among his friends, he embraced them and retired. When he came into his bed-chamber, he took up Plato's Dialogue on the Immortality of the Soul; and, having read it twice over, stabbed himself through the body with his sword. Though Cato was a man of great virtue, whose ruling passion was a steady attachment to justice and freedom, he did not, on this occasion, act conformably to his own character; and if we try him by the laws of Christianity, he will appear still more culpable. Life is only a short summer's campaign, in which we have many battles to fight, many breaches to mount, many strong fortresses to storm; and however unfortunate a general may have been, yet experience teaches us that he often proves at last successful. Why then should he despair, even in the most desperate cases? Cato was certainly very criminal in committing suicide, although at the period in which he lived, the religion of the age did not forbid it: on the contrary, the Stoics maintained that every one had a right to deprive himself of life whenever it became painful to preserve it. This was an opinion of the most dangerous tendency, both with respect to religion and morals. As men became more enlightened, the Stoics sunk into neglect and contempt, and by the establishment of the Christian religion mankind were taught the doctrine of forbearance, and resignation to the divine will.

Cæsar, on hearing of this great man's fate, said, (710) "Cato envied me the glory of saving his life. I intended to have conquered him by generosity and kindness." (711) Utica surrendered immediately; and this event terminating the war in Africa, Cæsar returned in triumph to Rome.

(712) He afterwards went into Spain, and (713) marched in person against the two sons of Pompey, who, under Labienus, had raised a powerful army. The armies came to an engagement in the plains of Munda. Cæsar, after being nearly routed, animated his soldiers with such resolution, that he gained a complete victory over the enemy. Thirty thousand were killed on the spot, and Spain submitted to the conqueror.

After this prosperous settlement of his affairs abroad, Cæsar returned to Rome, and triumphed four times in one month. (714) He rewarded his soldiers with liberality, and exhibited public shows with great magnificence for the diversion of the people; and (715) to remove every cause of jealousy, he bestowed the honours of the state on Pompey's friends as well as his own.

(716) Many of the senators, who had received favours at the hands of Cæsar, secretly upbraided themselves for accepting them at the expence of the public liberty. Many were also dissatisfied with the change of government and the ambitious conduct of Cæsar, who now attempted to assume the regal title. From that moment they sought to accomplish his ruin; and in private cabals it was agreed, that the liberty of the commonwealth could not be longer maintained without the death of the dictator.

(717) Brutus and Cassius were, by Cæsar's appointment, prætors for that year. These men were at the head of the discontented party. The former made it his chief glory to have been descended from that Brutus who first gave liberty to Rome. The passion for freedom seemed to have been transmitted to him with the blood of his 'ancestors. But though he detested tyranny, yet he could not forbear esteeming the tyrant, from whom he had received the most signal benefits. The love of his country, however, broke all the ties of private friendship, and he entered into a conspiracy to destroy his benefactor.

The conspirators carried on their plot with all ima-

sinable caution and secresy; and he better to justify their designs, deferred it till the Ides of March, when Cæsar was to be presented with the crown. During the preceding night, the slumbers of his wife Calphurnia having been broken by frightful and ominous dreams, she advised him not to go abroad that day. Had Cæsar deigned to have examined his own bosom, he might have discovered his approaching fate by less ambiguous signs. He had invaded the laws, and insulted the feelings of his country; and as long as a spark of Roman patriotism remained, he could not hope for safety. But the voice of reason had yielded to the insinuations of flattery; and he readily listened to the suggestions of a courtly train, who represented his fortune erected on a summit which mocked the feeble attempts of revenge or ambition. "Will you adjourn the Roman senate," said one of his pretended friends, "untill the wife of Cæsar has more auspicious dreams?" This sarcastic observation awakened the pride and overwhelmed the reluctance of the dictator; he resumed his wonted spirit, and with a steady step, amidst a suppliant multitude, advanced to meet his fate.

(718) As Cæsar was going into the senate house, he met the augur who had forewarned him of the dangers of that day. "The Ides of March are come," said Cæsar. "(719) True," replied the augur; "but they are not passed." (720) He had no sooner taken his seat, than all the conspirators pressed about him, and sued for favours which they knew would not be granted. The signal was given. Casca, who stood behind, stabbed him in the shoulder. Cæsar turned suddenly around, and rushing upon him, felled him to the ground. At the same moment another of the conspirators plunged a dagger into his bosom. Cassius then wounded him in the face, and Brutus coming up stabbed him in the thigh. Hitherto he had made a vigorous resistance; but the ingratitude of the man whom he had loved and distinguished by his protection had such an effect upon his mind, that looking

steadily at Brutus, he was heard to utter these words, "And thou too, my son!" Then covering his head and spreading his robe over him, he fell near Pompey's statue covered with wounds, received from those whom he had vainly hoped to disarm by the favours he had conferred on them.

Thus died, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, the greatest warrior that Rome, or perhaps the world ever saw. He was likewise an able statesman; but his ambition, which knew no bounds, prompted him to usurp arbitrary power over his fellow citizens, for which his life was the forfeit.

(721) By the assistance of the most able astronomers, Cæsar regulated the year according to the course of the sun. Two months were added to the calendar, and the whole year was divided into three hundred and sixty-five days. He also added one day to every fourth year, in the month of February, and that year was named Bissextile or leap year. This regulation was called the Julian account of time; and some ages after, it was called The old Style, in opposition to the new, or Gregorian Style.

(722) With the death of Cæsar ended the first triumvirate, or government of the Roman empire by three persons, Pompey, Cæsar, and Crassus.

CHAPTER VI.

Cæsar's Funeral—Antony, Octavius, and Lepidus, the second Triumvirate—Death of Cicero—Battle of Philippi—Death of Brutus—Banishment of Lepidus—Battle of Actium—Death of Antony and Cleopatra—Octavius, or Augustus Cæsar, triumphs at Rome.

A. U. 710.—728.

(723) CÆSAR was no sooner dead, than the conspirators acquainted the senate with the motive of their actions, and exhorted them to join in those measures which had restored the liberty of their country. Many of the senators were filled with astonishment; while others had retired to their houses to wait the issue of so bold and tragical a plan. (724) The conspirators then attempted to animate the multitude by the sacred name of liberty; but the people disregarded their address, and far from declaring in their favour ran tumultuously about the streets.—Alarmed at this unexpected reception, the conspirators retired to the capitol, the avenues of which they had secured by a numerous band of gladiators. Here they waited with patient vigilance the consequences of their daring deed.

(725) In the mean time the friends of Cæsar resolved to possess themselves of his power. (726) Among these was Mark Antony, a man well acquainted with the art of war, but a slave to vice. He was associated with Lepidus, a general fond of commotions, and having convened the senate made a proposal to inquire into Cæsar's late conduct. This was violently opposed by those whom he had raised to grandeur, because they knew that if he was declared an usurper, all acts of grants made by him in their favour would be void.

In this dilemma it was resolved, that all those concerned in the conspiracy against Cæsar should receive a free pardon, and such acts as had been made by him should be confirmed. By this prudent conduct his enemies endeavoured to screen themselves; and his friends, to secure their estates and enjoy them without molestation.

The grandeur, and not the fate of the dictator, was continually before the eyes of Antony. (737) He prevailed on the senate to suffer the private testament of Cæsar to be read to the people; and that his funeral should be solemnized at the public expence. On a purple couch, glittering with gold, the body of Cæsar was displayed to the surrounding multitude, who contemplated in solemn silence the awful spectacle. Antony then ascended the rostrum, pronounced the funeral oration, and exerted the whole power of his rhetoric to work on the passions of the multitude. He unfolded the bloody robe in which Cæsar had been murdered, showed them in how many places it was pierced, and exposed to their view the number of his wounds. The oration of Antony made such an impression on the people, that when the fire was put to the funeral pile they seized the firebrands, in order to burn the houses of the conspirators, against whom they now expressed the most bitter imprecations.

(728) Cæsar, by his will, had adopted Octavius, his sister's grandson, and appointed him his heir. This young Roman was at Apollonia, in Greece, when he first heard of his great uncle's murder, and the unsettled state of Italy. He immediately determined to set out for Rome, and support his pretensions. In a solemn manner, he claimed his adoption, and took on him the name of Cæsar. He sold his paternal estate to pay his uncle's legacies, and thus gained a degree of popularity, which his enemies in vain laboured to diminish.

(729) The state was now divided into three distinct factions; that of Octavius, who aimed at procuring

Cæsar's inheritance, and revenging his death; that of Antony, whose sole view was to obtain absolute power; and that of the conspirators, who endeavoured to restore the senate to its proper authority.

(730) The representatives of these three factions met upon a little island of the river Panarus, to determine on the fate of thousands. One can scarcely conceive that a city, which gave birth to such men as Fabricius and Cato, could tamely suffer a conference, which bartered away the lives and liberties of the people. (731) The result of this meeting was a division of the government. The supreme authority was to be lodged in their hands, under the title of the triumvirate, for the space of five years; Antony claimed Gaul; Lepidus, Spain; and Octavius, Africa with the Mediterranean islands. Italy and the eastern provinces were to remain in common, until their general enemy was subdued. But the last article of their union was dreadful. (732.) It was agreed that all their enemies should be destroyed, of whom, each presented a list. The most sacred rights of nature were violated; three hundred senators and above two thousand knights were included in this terrible proscription; their fortunes were confiscated, and their murderers enriched with the spoil. Rome soon felt the effects of this terrible union. Nothing but cries and lamentations were to be heard throughout the city. Scarce a family did not mourn the murder of some relative.

(733) The terror of the capital was soon diffused to the Tusculan villa of Cicero. The Roman orator was informed of his own and of the public danger, and embarked with precipitation in hope of escaping to Greece; but contrary winds obliged him to land near Capua. After a short repose, he was urged by the apprehensions of his attendants to regain the vessel; but while they proceeded towards the sea coast, they were attacked by a party of soldiers. The servants endeavoured to defend their master's life at the hazard of their own. Cicero, however, ordered his litter to be stopped; and with a firmness not unworthy of the spirit which he had displayed in the forum, submitted

his neck to the sword of Pompilius Lænas, a military tribune, whose cause he had successfully pleaded. Antony received the head with savage joy; and after feasting his eyes with it for some time ordered it to be fixed upon the rostrum, where Cicero had frequently spoken with eloquence never yet excelled, and hardly ever equalled. His head might be insulted by the brutal insolence of Antony; his tongue might be pierced by the frantic rage of Fulvia; but his immortal genius mocked the feeble malice of his enemies. The fame of Rome has acquired additional lustre from the eloquence and writings of this celebrated orator.

Brutus and Cassius having gone over (734) to Athens persuaded the Roman students, who were prosecuting their studies at this place, to declare for their country. Antony and Octavius agreed to engage them. Both armies met (735) at the city of Philippi, on the confines of Macedonia and Thrace, and here the future destiny of the republic was decided. (736) The liberty of Rome was annihilated by the death of Brutus and Cassius. The former overpowered that part of the army which Octavius commanded; but Antony defeated Cassius, who obliged one of his freedmen to kill him. Brutus, after the loss of a second battle, submitted his fearless bosom to the sword of his friend Strato, that he might not outlive the liberty of his country, and fall into the hands of his enemies. (737) The jealousy of succeeding tyrants is the best eulogium of his virtues. Amidst their venal guards, the imperial usurpers trembled at his name; the proscription of his memory proclaimed their abject fears; but the gratitude of Rome burst through the feeble restraint; and while in Brutus his country lamented the last of the Romans, she indignantly reproached the degenerate race, who presumed to assume the distinction of the Roman name, without aspiring to emulate the actions of their ancestors.

The conquered troops immediately submitted, and the triumvirs established their usurped authority on the ruins of the republic, and became masters of the

whole Roman empire. The first days after the victory were employed by the triumvirate in punishing their enemies. The head of Brutus was sent to Rome and laid at the feet of the late dictator's statue, for he had been considered so formidable a rival that a great reward was offered to any of the soldiers who should bring him either dead or alive.

As the republican party was no more, (738) unrivalled dominion was now the aim of Octavius. Lepidus being soon divested of his share of the sovereignty, was banished to Circæum, where he spent the remainder of his days in obscurity, a melancholy object of disappointed ambition.

The only obstacle to universal empire, which now stood in his way, was (739) Antony, whom he resolved to remove, and for that purpose began to render his character contemptible at Rome. (740) Antony's conduct did not a little contribute to promote the views of his ambitious partner. He went first to Greece, and then to Asia, indulging himself in luxury and sensuality: so effeminate were the people, and so ready to flatter him, rather than defend their natural rights and privileges. Voluptuous in every part of his life, and a slave to those passions which are inconsistent with the character of a hero, he was ready to sacrifice every thing to pleasure. In the course of his journey he engaged in several intrigues, and hearing that Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, was the most celebrated beauty of her time, he resolved to pay her a visit; but rather wishing to meet her as an enemy than as a friend, he soon found a pretext to accomplish his object.

The governor of the isle of Cyprus had furnished the conspirators with provisions to carry on the war against the triumvirs, and, as he alleged that it had been done by the order of his queen, she was summoned to answer for her breach of fidelity to the Roman republic.

(741) Cleopatra, who was no stranger to the power of her attractions, nor unacquainted with the character of the man with whom she was to have an interview,

doubted not but the same charms which had subdued the heart of Cæsar would captivate that of Antony. As she sailed down the Cydnus in more than Eastern magnificence, the astonished crowd gazed in admiration on her purple sails and silver oars, which dipped responsive to the flute. But the eyes of Antony, unmindful of the pomp, were fixed on Cleopatra. So much was he captivated with her beauty, that he followed her to Alexandria. Alive only to pleasure, and disregarding the business of the state as much as his wife Octavia, the sister of Octavius, he wasted his hours in the company of Cleopatra, who studied every art to vary his entertainments. Few women have been more celebrated for giving novelty to pleasure, and making even trifles important. Ever ingenious in filling up the languid pauses of delight with some new stroke of refinement, she was at one time a queen, then a bacchanal, and sometimes a huntress. Not content with sharing in her company all the delights which Egypt could afford, Antony was resolved to enlarge his sphere of action by granting her many of those kingdoms which belonged to the Roman empire. Such extravagant acts of folly so exasperated the Romans, that their resentment knew no bounds.

On receiving intelligence that (742) Octavius was raising an army against him, (743) Antony ordered Canidius, his general, to march towards Europe, while he and Cleopatra followed to Samos, to prepare for carrying on the war with vigour. (744) When they arrived there, it was ridiculous to behold the odd mixture of preparations: some were for pleasure, and some for war. On one side the kings and princes, from Egypt to the Euxine sea, had orders to send their supplies of men, provisions, and arms; on the other side, all the comedians, dancers, buffoons, and musicians, of Greece, were desired to attend him. Thus when a ship was thought to arrive laden with soldiers, arms, and ammunition, it was found filled with players and theatrical machinery. When news was expected of the approach of an army, messengers only

arrived with tidings of a fresh quantity of venison. In this manner he laboured to unite incompatible pursuits. In consequence of such light conduct, his best friends began to forsake his interest, which is generally the case with those who forsake themselves.

(745) The diligence of Octavius had assembled at Brundusium eighty thousand legionaries and twelve thousand cavalry. Determined to involve his antagonist in all the difficulties of a defensive war, he instantly embarked his troops, and with a favourable wind, under the convoy of two hundred and fifty ships of war, he reached the promontory of Acroceraunus. A hundred thousand infantry and twelve thousand cavalry marched beneath the banners of Antony; but all his virtues seem to have withered by his intercourse with Cleopatra.

A. U. 722.

Such forces on both sides may excite our wonder, but not our interest or approbation, as neither of them had a good cause to support. Their contention was like that of two robbers, who quarrel in the division of plunder.

The decisive engagement, which was a naval one, was fought (746) near Actium, a city of Epirus, at the entrance of the gulph of Ambracia. Antony had two hundred and thirty large ships; those of Octavius were light, and his mariners had been trained in repeated contests with Pompey. The signal for action was displayed; and the armies from the opposite shores were the anxious spectators of the important conflict. Octavius was triumphant. (747) Cleopatra, confounded by the shouts and groans of the combatants, fled in dismay from the scene of slaughter. Her galley, conspicuous by its purple sails and gilt ornaments, revealing to the fleet her ignominious flight, sixty Egyptian vessels deserted their station and followed the inglorious example of their queen. (748) The heart of Antony being still devoted to that princess, he turned his back on the enemy and entered her galley. Thus to the impulse of the moment did he sacrifice for ever his fame and his fortune.

While Octavius exulted in the fulness of prosperity, the wretched Antony was distracted by shame and remorse. His silence betrayed the anguish of his soul; and for some days he maintained a sullen reserve toward the fatal enchantress, whose baneful influence had overwhelmed him with disgrace and calamity. But the charms of Cleopatra were too powerful to be long resisted; and her infatuated lover, after a vain attempt to arm in his support the legions of Africa, retired to Alexandria; resumed a life of luxury and riot; and, amidst dance and revelry, awaited the approach of his rival as the signal of his dissolution.

(749) Reduced at last to despair, Antony had the folly to send a challenge to Octavius, offering to terminate their quarrel by single combat; but the other was too sensible of the great difference of their situations to engage on such unequal terms. He therefore cooly replied, "that if Antony really sought for death, it would be more honourable to procure it in battle." Determined still to make one expiring effort, on the evening before the engagement, he ordered a grand entertainment to be made. "Give me good wine, and good cheer," said he to his friends. "Let me rule to-day; to-morrow, perhaps, you may serve another master." In the morning he went to take a view of his army, which was drawn up on an eminence near the city. But how great was his confusion, when he saw his fleet issue from the harbour, to join that of Octavius! His cavalry immediately deserted him; his infantry was routed; and as he entered Alexandria, abandoned and disconsolate, his indignant murmurs were heard to accuse the fidelity of the Egyptian queen.

The prudence or guilt of Cleopatra might well be alarmed by the suspicions of a desperate or injured lover. She had concealed herself from his immediate anger in a strong and stately edifice which had been erected for her sepulchre; and the report of her death was artfully and industriously circulated. The intelligence was received by Antony as the extinction

of his hopes and fears. Fame and empire were no more: love alone, which had remained to gild the gloom of existence, was now also withdrawn. Impatient of further delay, he threw himself with Roman temerity on his sword; his fall alarmed his attendants: their officious zeal raised him from the ground, and informed him of the safety of Cleopatra. The dying lover was conveyed to the presence of his mistress; the expiring lamp of life seemed revived; he requested her to save life on the best terms she could; and calling for a glass of wine, expired in a few moments.

(750) Cleopatra soon after put an end to her existence on being informed that Octavius intended her to ornament his triumph. She entreated permission to pay her last oblations at the tomb of Antony; she threw herself on his coffin, bewailed her captivity, and renewed her protestations not to survive him. She then crowned the tomb with garlands of flowers; and having kissed the coffin a thousand times, she returned home to execute her fatal resolution. She dressed herself in the most splendid manner, and ordered all but her two attendants, Charmion and Iris, to leave the room. Having previously ordered an asp to be secretly conveyed to her in a basket of fruit, she sent a letter to Octavius, informing him of her fatal purpose, and desiring to be buried in the same tomb with Antony. Octavius on receiving this letter, instantly despatched messengers to stop her intention; but they arrived too late. Entering the chamber, they beheld Cleopatra lying dead upon a couch, arrayed in her royal robes. Near her Iris, one of her faithful attendants, was stretched lifeless at the feet of her mistress; and Charmion, on the verge of death, was settling the diadem on Cleopatra's head. "Alas!" cried one of the messengers, "was this well done, Charmion?" "Extremely well," replied she; "such a death becomes a queen descended from a race of glorious ancestors." Having pronounced these words, she expired.

(751) After the death of Cleopatra, Octavius re-

turned to Rome, and had three triumphs. He also exhibited public shows, to please the people, (752) who saw with joy the gates of the temple of Janus shut, after they had been open two hundred and seventeen years.

CHAPTER VII.

Miscellaneous Remarks.

A. U. 608.—723.

FROM an attentive perusal of the foregoing pages, the young reader will find some things common with the rise and fall of all other republics, and some things peculiar to the Romans. (753) 1. Like many other nations, they rose from an obscure original, and arrived at grandeur, before they were conscious of their own importance. 2. They had the seeds of liberty implanted in their constitution; and as frugality and temperance kept it alive, so luxury destroyed it. 3. Their government often changed its form, without being of any service to the people.

There are some things, however, in which there is a material difference between them and most other nations. (754) 1. They became united on principles of interest, and by a remarkable attachment to their native country, which induced them to look on those who lived in the distant provinces as no better than barbarians. 2. Their country was fertile and capable of supplying all their reasonable wants; but such was their ambition, that they first extended their conquests over the neighbouring states of Italy, and then through every part of the known world. 3. Though united by interest, and bound to promote the rights of each other as individuals, and those of the state as a collective body, yet they were continually dividing into parties; and when they had no foreign enemy to oppose, nothing but disturbances prevailed at home. 4. These

dissensions inspired them with courage, and made them perform the greatest actions, for no other reason but to obtain the approbation of their fellow citizens. Lastly, Ambition, which was the constitutional vice of the whole community, began to operate strongly on the minds of individuals, and, after several unsuccessful attempts, regal government was established on the ruins of that which before existed.

(755) When Julius Cæsar attempted to make a revolution in the government, the Romans had not forgotten their ancient freedom. Sentiments of liberty were so universal, as even to pervade the army, who were the engines of its destruction. The great men, who had beheld the republic and felt their consequence under the old constitution, refused to descend from the rank of equals to Cæsar, to be the subjects of the dictator.

When Augustus began his reign, a different situation of affairs took place. After long and bloody wars, peace was proclaimed; and the people, regaled with feasts, and amused with shows, forgot their ancient freedom, or never remembered it without the unpleasant ideas of civil wars, proscriptions, and massacres.

(756) When Cæsar became master of the republic, he displayed that ambition which he was formerly careful to conceal. He delighted in the ostentation, as well as the possession of power. His virtues, his magnanimity, and his clemency, tended to accelerate his fate.

The death of Cæsar was a warning to his successor, who respected the senate, preserved the ancient forms of the commonwealth, and endeavoured to persuade the people that they were free.

CHAPTER VIII.

Incidents and curious Particulars.

A. U. 608.—723.

(757) ABOUT one hundred and ten years before Christ, the senate passed the famous sumptuary law, which limited the daily expences of eating.

(758) In the year before Christ eighty-six, Sylla conquered Athens, and sent its valuable library to Rome.

In the year A. C. 55, Cæsar crossed the Rhine, defeated the Germans, and invaded Britain.

(759) A little before the battle of Pharsalia, Cæsar, after waiting with the utmost anxiety for the arrival of some of his forces, ventured on an attempt, which nothing but the great confidence he had in his good fortune could excuse. He disguised himself in the habit of a slave, and with all imaginable secresy went on board a fisherman's bark, at the mouth of the river Apsus, with a design to pass over to Brundusium, where the rest of his forces lay, and bring them over in person. He accordingly rowed off in the beginning of the night; but when he had advanced a considerable way into the sea, a violent storm arose, and the fisherman being exhausted with fatigue, and despairing of gaining the opposite coast, proposed to return. His passenger having dissuaded him from this attempt, the sailor made a fresh effort; but the storm growing every moment more furious, he began to express his apprehensions of the danger they were in; upon which Cæsar discovering himself, cried out, *Quid times! Cæsarem vehis?* "What are you afraid of? You carry Cæsar." Encouraged by the presence of so great a man, the fisherman again exerted himself; but the storm continuing still to increase, he was obliged to return, and reached the land with great

difficulty. Upon his landing, Cæsar's troops crowded round him, and kindly upbraided him with the disgrace he had put on them by going for new soldiers, when those he already had were sufficient to gain him the victory.

A. C. 30. (760) Alexandria was taken by Octavius, afterwards, Augustus Cæsar, and Egypt was converted into a Roman province.

CHAPTER IX.

Biographical Sketches.

A. U. 608.—723.

(761) LUCRETIUS, a celebrated poet and philosopher, was born at Rome, and studied at Athens where he warmly embraced the tenets of Epicurus, which he explained and elucidated in a poem, on the causes and effects of nature. In this poem the masterly genius and unaffected elegance of the poet are every where conspicuous; but the opinions of the philosopher are justly censured, as being contrary to common sense and sound theology. His death was occasioned by a potion given him by his wife Lucilia in a fit of jealousy. His diction was so pure and elegant, that if he had lived in the polished age of Augustus, he would have been esteemed no mean rival of Virgil.

A. C. 54.

(762) Lucullus, a Roman consul, was famous for his military talents during the Mithridatic war, and for his luxury afterwards. The expences of his meals were immoderate. His halls were distinguished by the different names of the gods; and, when Cicero and Pompey attempted to surprise him, they were astonished at the costliness of a supper prepared on the word of Lucullus, who had merely said to his servant that he would sup in the hall of Apollo. The

rate of an entertainment *there* was sixteen hundred pounds. The luxuries of his table, indeed, were not above the extent of his fortune; for that was immense: but they were certainly inconsistent with the manners of a virtuous Roman. His steward once caused a supper to be served up, which was not very sumptuous. Lucullus finding fault with it, the steward said, that he expected no company. "Do you not know," said his master, "that Lucullus to-night is to sup with Lucullus?" By this example he contributed very much to corrupt the manners of his countrymen. By the introduction also of Asiatic customs into Europe, the people were rendered both effeminate and luxurious. In his retirement, Lucullus was fond of artificial variety. Subterraneous caves and passages were dug under the hills on the coasts of Campania, and the sea water was conveyed round the house and pleasure grounds, where fishes collected in abundance. At his death, they were sold for the enormous sum of £25,000. His house was enriched with a valuable library for the use of the curious and the learned. He was perfect master of the Greek and Latin languages; and wrote a concise history of the Marsi in Greek hexameters. He gained for some time the admiration of all the inhabitants of the East, and might have disputed the empire of the world with a Cæsar or a Pompey, if his love of ease had not placed him above the reach of ambition. He died in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and was privately buried on his estate at Tusculum, though the people wished to give him an honorable funeral in the Campus Martius. A. C. 47.

(763) Caius Julius Cæsar was no less famous as a learned man, than a great commander. He wrote his commentaries, or history of the war in Gaul, on the spot where he fought his battles; and the compositon has been admired for the elegance as well as the correctness of its style. This valuable book, the model of good language and fine writing, was nearly lost; for when Cæsar saved his life in the bay of Alexandria,

he was obliged to swim from his ship, with his arms in one hand, and his commentaries in his mouth. The history of the war in Alexandria and Spain is attributed to him by some, and by others to Hirtius. He was killed in the senate-house, as before related. Such was Cæsar's ambition, that he often expressed himself in the following words: "I would rather chuse to be first in a little village, than to be second at Rome." Pliny says, that he could employ at the same time, his ears to listen, his eyes to read, his hand to write, and his mind to dictate.

A. C. 44.

Cleopatra, queen of Egypt and contemporary with Cæsar, was the daughter of Ptolemy Auletes king of that country; who, dying about 51 years before Christ, bequeathed his crown to the eldest of his sons, and the eldest of his daughters; ordering them to be joined to each other in marriage according to the usage of their family, and jointly to govern the Egyptian kingdom. They were both very young, Cleopatra the elder being only seventeen, and, therefore, he committed them to the protection of the Roman senate. (764) They could not, however, agree, either to be married or to reign together, and the cause was tried before Julius Cæsar, when advocates on both sides were appointed to plead. (765) But Cleopatra, hearing that Cæsar was very partial to the fair sex, laid a plot to attach him first to her person, and next to her cause. Sending, therefore, to Cæsar, she desired that she might be permitted to plead her own cause before him. This being granted, she came secretly into the port of Alexandria in a small skiff towards the dusk of the evening, caused herself to be tied up in her bedding, and thus was carried to Cæsar's apartment on the back of one of her servants. Cæsar was too sensible of the charms of beauty, not to be touched with those of Cleopatra. The next morning he sent for Ptolemy, and pressed him to receive his sister on her own terms: but Ptolemy perceiving that, instead of a judge, he was become her advocate, appealed to the people, and put the whole city in an

uproar. A war commenced; and the matter being soon determined by a battle, in which Cæsar came off conqueror, Ptolemy, on his endeavouring to escape over the Nile in a boat, was sunk with it and drowned in that river. Cæsar then settled the kingdom on Cleopatra. (766) She, however, followed him to Rome, and was there when he was killed in the senate-house: but being terrified by that event and the subsequent disorders of the city, she fled with great precipitation.

After the battle of Philippi, she was summoned by Antony to answer an accusation against her, as if she had favoured the interest of Cassius. She had indeed done so in some measure; (767) she depended, however, on her wit and beauty; and persuaded herself, that those charms with which she had conquered Cæsar's heart, were still powerful enough to conquer Antony's; for she was not yet above twenty-six years of age. Full of these assurances she went to Antony, and by her arts and the charms of her person drew him into those snares, which held him enslaved to her as long as he lived, and finally caused his death. Having at last fallen into the hands of her enemy Octavius Cæsar, who meant to expose her in triumph to the Romans, she caused herself to be bitten by an asp, which was brought to her concealed in a basket of figs, as before mentioned; and thus died this princess, whose wit and beauty made so much noise in the world, after she had reigned from the death of her father twenty-two years, and lived thirty-nine.

(768) Octavia, sister of Octavius, afterwards Augustus Cæsar, and wife of Mark Antony, but divorced by him in order to please Cleopatra, was one of the most illustrious ladies of ancient Rome for her wisdom and virtues. Cleopatra, who very much dreaded the charms and virtues of Octavia, employed all her artifice to prevent Antony from meeting her at Athens. She assumed an air of melancholy, and would frequently let fall a tear on his approach, which she would wipe away immediately, affecting to conceal her weakness and grief. This had the desired effect, for he at last

ordered Octavia to return to Rome. On her return, she took the greatest care of her family, and behaved in such a manner as procured her immortal honour. She loved her husband in spite of his ill usage, and could not bear to think that his ungenerous treatment of her should again kindle the flames of civil war. (769) How opposite was the character of Octavia to that of Cleopatra. How amiable does the former appear, even amidst repeated insults! and how contemptible the latter, amidst the parade of magnificence.

(770) Vitruvius, the celebrated architect, flourished about this time. He is only known by his writings, for nothing is recorded in history of his life or private character. His treatise on architecture plainly shows that he was master of his profession, and that he possessed both genius and abilities. No other book on that subject, written by the ancients, is now extant.

(771) Marcus Tullius Cicero, born at Arpinum, was the son of a Roman knight. His learning and abilities have been the admiration of every age and country, and his works are accounted the standard of elegant literature. He was of a timid disposition; and though he shone as the father of Roman eloquence, he never ascended the pulpit to harangue, without feeling a secret emotion of dread. He was assassinated in the sixty-fourth year of his age. He had a son and daughter by his wife Terentia. He afterwards married a young lady whom he divorced, because she seemed elated at the death of his daughter Tullia.

A. C. 43.

(772) Cornelius Nepos was the intimate friend of Cicero, and recommended himself to the notice of the great and opulent by delicacy of sentiment and a lively disposition. The clearness and precision of the narrations in his lives of the illustrious Greek and Roman generals deserve the highest commendation.

(773) Catullus was a poet of Verona, whose compositions are the offspring of luxuriant imagination. He was acquainted with the most distinguished people of his age, and directed his satire against Cæsar, whose

only revenge was inviting the poet to the hospitable entertainments at his table. Catullus was the first Roman who imitated with success the Greek writers, and introduced their numbers among the Latin compositions. A. C. 40.

(774) Crispus Sallustius was born at Armiternum, a town of the Sabines in Italy, and educated at Rome, where he held several important employments. He was degraded from the dignity of a senator, on account of some irregularities; but was afterwards restored by Cæsar and sent into Numidia, where he acquired great wealth and returned to Rome. He wrote the history of Catiline's conspiracy, and of the war with Jugurtha. These and some fragments of the Roman history are all that remain of this elegant Latin historian. He died in the fifty-first year of his age. As a writer, Sallust is peculiarly distinguished. He displays a wonderful knowledge of the human heart, and points out with a masterly hand the causes that gave rise to the great events which he relates. His descriptions are elegantly correct. His harangues are nervous, animated, and well suited to the character and pursuits of the great men who were to pronounce them. A. C. 34.

(775) At this period flourished Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who left his country and came to reside at Rome, that he might carefully study all the Greek and Latin writers, whose compositions treated of the Roman history. To the merits of an elegant historian, he added the character of an eloquent orator, a judicious critic, and an able politician.

BOOK IV.

THE ROMAN EMPIRE, FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE REIGN OF AUGUSTUS, TO ITS FALL IN THE WEST.

A. U. 723.——1228.
A. U. 30.——A. D. 476.

CHAPTER I.

Augustus Cæsar — Tiberius — Caligula — Claudius — Nero.

A. U. 30.—A. D. 68.

(776) THE battle of Actium decided the fate of liberty and of Rome. (777) The rich and polished Italians, who had almost universally embraced the philosophy of Epicurus, enjoyed the present blessings of ease and tranquillity, and suffered not the pleasing dream to be interrupted by the memory of their former tumultuous freedom. (778) With its power the senate had lost its dignity; many of the most noble families were extinct; the republicans of spirit and ability had perished in the field of battle, or in the proscription, The door of the assembly had been designedly left open for a mixed multitude of more than a thousand persons, who reflected disgrace on their employment, instead of deriving honour from it. Soldiers, strangers, and barbarians, had been introduced by Julius Cæsar;

and after his death the abuse had become more frequent, and more scandalous. Octavius, who now assumed the title of Augustus, was complete master of the Roman world, and in possession of the most extensive empire that mankind had ever known. (779) The reformation of the senate was one of the first steps, in which Augustus professed himself to be the father of his country. He was elected censor; and in concert with Agrippa and Mæcenas he examined the list of the senators, expelled a few members whose vices or whose obstinacy required a public exposure, and persuaded nearly two hundred to prevent the shame of an expulsion, by a voluntary resignation. He accepted the honourable title of prince of the senate, which had always been conferred by the censors on the citizen most eminent for his honour and services. But while he thus restored the dignity, he destroyed the independence, of the senate. The principles of a free constitution are irrecoverably lost, when the legislative power is nominated by the executive.

Before an assembly thus modelled and prepared Augustus pronounced a studied oration, which displayed his patriotism and disguised his ambition. "(780) He lamented, yet excused, his past conduct. Filial piety had required at his hands the revenge of his father's murder; the humanity of his own nature had sometimes given way to the stern laws of necessity and a connection with two unworthy colleagues. As long as Antony lived, the republic forbade him to abandon her to a degenerate Roman and a barbarian queen. He was now at liberty to satisfy his duty and his inclination. He solemnly restored the senate and people to all their ancient rights; and wished only to mingle with the crowd of his fellow citizens, and to share the blessings which he had obtained for his country."

(781) It would require the pen of Tacitus to describe the various emotions of the senate. It was dangerous to believe that Augustus was sincere; but still more so to doubt the integrity of his sentiments and actions.

The respective advantages of monarchy and a republic have often divided speculative inquirers; the present greatness of the Roman state, the corruption of manners, and the licence of the soldiers, supplied new arguments to the advocates of monarchy. These general views of government were again wrapped by the hopes and fears of each individual; but (782) amidst this confusion of sentiments the answer of the senate was unanimous and decisive. They refused to accept the resignation of Augustus, and conjured him not to desert the republic which he had saved. After a modest resistance the crafty tyrant submitted to the orders of the senate and consented to receive the government of the provinces and the general command of the Roman armies, (783) under the names of proconsul and imperator. But he would receive them only for ten years. Even before the expiration of that period, he hoped that the wounds of civil discord would be completely healed, and that the republic, restored to its pristine health and vigour, would no longer require the dangerous interposition of so extraordinary a magistrate.

From the battle of Actium, (784) Augustus reigned forty-four years, and died at Nola, in Campania, in the seventy-sixth year of his age. His power began in the slaughter, and terminated in the happiness, of his country. (785) It was said of him, "That it had been good for mankind if he had never been born, or if he never had died." When he became emperor, he gave the government a character suited to the disposition of the times; and could we separate Octavius from Augustus, he would be esteemed one of the most faultless princes in history. The long peace, which his subjects enjoyed during his administration, may be ascribed to his moderation. About the middle of his reign the greatest part of mankind professed obedience to one monarch, and were in perfect harmony with each other.

A. D. 14.

(786) Augustus was succeeded by Tiberius, (787) the beginning of whose reign was marked with such

traits of prudence and generosity, as gave the people reason to hope he would prove a very good monarch. He rejected the titles of lord and master, by which the senate proposed to address him in quality of emperor. "I am only master," said he, "of my slaves; I am general of my soldiers; and chief of the people." In a short time, however, he shewed himself to be one of the most cruel tyrants that ever existed. Of twenty senators, whom he chose for his council, he put sixteen to death. "Let them hate me," said he, "so long as they obey me." He even declared, that in his opinion Priam was a happy man, to outlive all his posterity. A concern for the glory of the empire was interpreted by him into a design of seizing the reigns of government; and an innocent remembrance of former liberty was considered as an aim to re-establish the commonwealth. It was a capital crime to praise Brutus and Cassius; and a very heinous offence to bewail Augustus. Simplicity of discourse was thought to conceal some evil designs; and silence was a cloak for mischievous intentions. The passion of joy indicated a hope of the emperor's death; and melancholy envied his prosperity. Fear was the just apprehension of a guilty conscience. In a word, no person, however innocent, could be safe; for every virtue was the sure road to ruin. His tyranny at last became insupportable, and he was smothered in bed by his favourite, Macro, who perceived the sword suspended over his own head by a single thread, for having endeavoured to ingratiate himself with the heir to the imperial purple. He was alarmed by the menacing reproach of Tiberius, who remarked, "That he had forsaken the setting sun to court the rising." A. D. 14. A. D. 38.

(788) Caius Caligula, the successor of Tiberius, exceeded his predecessors in all manner of dissipation and profligacy; but in all martial affairs he was much his inferior. He is famous, however, for a mock expedition made against the Germans. After arriving at that part of the low countries op- A. D. 38.

posite to Britain, he received into his protection a fugitive prince of that island, and sent pompous letters to the senate giving an account of the happy conquest of the whole kingdom. Some time after, making the soldiers fill their helmets with pebbles and cockle shells which he called the spoils of the ocean, he returned to the city to demand a triumph; and, when that honour was denied him by the senate, he practised the most extravagant cruelties. He was so far from entertaining any desire to benefit the public, that he often complained of his ill fortune, because no signal calamity happened in his time; and made it his constant wish, that either the utter destruction of an army, or some plague, famine, earthquake, or other extraordinary desolation, might have continued the memory of his reign to succeeding ages. He had another more comprehensive wish, that all the Romans had but one neck, that he might strike it off at one blow.

His profane folly aspired to a place among the tutelar gods of Rome. A prostrate people might lament, but dared not oppose, his frantic commands. His temples rose in impious magnificence; his altars smoked with innumerable victims; he assumed a station by the side of Jupiter, over whom he frequently claimed pre-eminence.

His behaviour compelled his subjects to cut him off, after a short reign of three years, for the security of their persons. "Nature seemed to have brought him forth," says a philosophic writer, "to show what was possible to be produced from the greatest vice supported by the greatest authority*."

(789) The senate assembled in the capitol to debate about extinguishing the name and family of the Cæsars, and restoring to the commonwealth the old constitution. But one of the soldiers, who was employed to ransack the palace, accidently finding Claudius, uncle to the late emperor, who had hid himself in a corner behind the hangings, recommended him as the fittest person

* Seneca.

in the world to be emperor. To this the senators had no objection, because they considered him as an easy prince, who would be entirely at their disposal. A. D. 42.

The conquest of Britain was the most remarkable act of his time, owing partly to an expedition which he made in person; but chiefly to the valour of his officers. (790) The Britons, under their king Caractacus, were the most formidable opponents the Roman generals had ever encountered. This brave barbarian not only made a gallant defence, but often claimed a doubtful victory. Having removed the seat of war into the most inaccessible parts of the country, he kept the Romans in continual alarm for nine years. The Britons, however, being at last entirely routed, he was brought prisoner to Rome. Nothing could exceed the curiosity of the people to behold a man, who had for so many years braved the power of the empire. On his part, he testified no marks of base dejection; but, as he was led through the streets, happening to observe the splendour of every object around him; "Alas," cried he, "how is it possible, that people possessed of such magnificence at home, could think of envying Caractacus an humble cottage in Britain?" When he was brought before the emperor, while the other captives sued for pity with the most abject lamentations, Caractacus stood before the tribunal with an intrepid air, and seemed rather willing to reject a pardon, than meanly solicitous of requesting it. (791) Claudius had the generosity to release him, and he returned to Britain.

Men of narrow capacities and feeble minds are only good or evil, as they happen to fall into the hands of virtuous or vicious guides; and, unhappily for him, his directors were to the last degree abandoned and infamous. (792) The chief of these was his wife Messalina, whose name is almost become a common appellation to women of abandoned character.

On the discovery of her illicit amours, Messalina laid violent hands on herself, and Claudius married

Agrippina, the daughter of his brother Germanicus. Her chief aim was to secure the succession of her son Nero, and to set aside the claims of young Britannicus, son of the emperor and Messalina. For this purpose she married Nero to the emperor's daughter Octavia, a few days after her own marriage. Her next care was to increase her son's popularity by giving him Seneca for a tutor. This excellent man, by birth a Spaniard, had been banished into the island of Corsica by Claudius on the false testimony of Messalina, who had accused him of adultery with Julia, the emperor's niece. The people loved and admired him for his genius, but still more for his strict morality. Part of this reputation devolved on his pupil.

In order to make room for her son, Agrippina resolved to poison her husband. The poison was disguised in a dish of mushrooms, of which the emperor was particularly fond. The imperial glutton ate with his wonted voracity. Gorged with food and liquor, he was carried to bed in a state of lethargic stupor. His constitution, however, seemed to struggle with the strength of the poison; and as it did not operate fast enough, his physician by order of the empress made him swallow a poisoned feather, when the life and reign of Claudius were instantly closed.

A. D. 55.

(793) Nero, though but seventeen years of age, began his reign with the general good opinion of mankind. While he continued to act by the counsels of Seneca, his tutor, and Burrhus, his general, his government was considered as a model for succeeding princes; but on being released from the constraint he had experienced, he acted in so cruel and arbitrary a manner, that his name will be odious to every succeeding age. He wantonly took away the lives of the best characters, not sparing his tutor Seneca nor even his own mother. It is said, that he set fire to the city of Rome and took a delight in seeing it burn. He stood upon a high tower, during the continuance of the flames, enjoying the sight, and re-

A. D. 55.

peating in a theatrical manner some verses on the destruction of Troy. To divert the general indignation, which the power of despotism was unable to suppress, the emperor used every art to throw the odium of this detestable action upon the Christians, who were at that time gaining ground in Rome. Nothing could be more dreadful than the persecution raised against them on this false accusation. "Some were covered with the skins of wild beasts, and in that figure devoured by dogs. Some were crucified and others burnt alive. When the day was not sufficient for their tortures, being smeared over with combustible materials, they were used as torches to illuminate the darkness of the night. The gardens of Nero were destined for the melancholy spectacle, which was accompanied with a horse race and honored with the presence of the emperor, who mingled with the populace in the dress and attitude of a charioteer.*" In this persecution St. Paul was beheaded; and St. Peter was crucified with his head downwards, which death he chose as being more dishonourable than that of his divine master.

The Romans, having groaned under Nero's tyranny fourteen years, and unable to endure it longer, put an end to his life. A. D. 68.

The imperial house of Cæsar expired in Nero; and in less than a century from the battle of Actium a numerous and increasing family, which promised to perpetuate the line of Augustus, were extinguished by their own jealousy and vices. If ambition had leisure to reflect, it might be admonished by their instructive example. How painful is the ascent to greatness! how transient is the possession of it!

* Plutarch.

CHAPTER II.

Galba—Otho—Vitellius—Vespasian—Titus—Domitian—Nerva—Trajan—Adrian—Marcus Aurelius, or Antoninus the Philosopher.

A. U. 68—180.

(794) SERGIUS GALBA, who was then in Spain with his legions, was chosen emperor by the soldiers and confirmed by the senate. His great age and his severity were the causes of his ruin. In order to please the people he adopted Piso. But Otho, who had expected that honour and was now enraged at his disappointment, on application to the soldiers easily procured the murder of the old prince and his adopted son.

A. D. 68.

(795) Raised by such violent means to the imperial dignity Otho did not reign long; for, Vitellius making head against him, three battles were fought between them, in which Otho was victorious; but in the fourth he was defeated. Unable to bear this reverse of fortune he destroyed himself.

A. D. 69.

It is astonishing to a reflecting mind that he could so easily give up his hopes of future success and dominion. He had witnessed the fidelity of the prætorian soldiers, and had in his army many fresh troops. But that fatality, which the spirit of the times alone can account for, effected this unexpected revolution. He reigned but three months and five days.

(796) Aulus Vitellius, returning victor to Rome, was saluted emperor by the senate; but his luxury and cruelty soon made him so odious, that the people rebelled against him, and after treating him with the greatest indignities murdered him, and threw his dead body into the Tiber. He reigned only eight months

and five days. An elegant biographer* compares this emperor and his two predecessors to kings in tragedies, who just appear on the stage and then are destroyed.

(797) Vespasian rose by his merit from a mean origin at an advanced age to the empire. He was declared emperor by the unanimous consent both of the senate and the army; and messengers were despatched to him in Egypt, requesting his presence at Rome, and testifying the utmost desire for his government. Before he set out, (798) he gave his son Titus the command of the army that was to lay siege to Jerusalem; while he went forward and was met many miles from Rome by all the senate and near half the inhabitants, who offered the sincerest testimonies of their joy in having an emperor of such great and experienced virtues. Nor did he disappoint their expectations, being equally assiduous in rewarding merit, in reforming the manners of the citizens, and setting them the best example. A. D. 70.

In the mean time Titus carried on the war against the Jews with vigour. This obstinate and infatuated people had long resolved to resist the Roman power, vainly hoping to find protection from the Deity, whom their impieties had offended.

Could any thing have averted the destruction of the Jews, it must have been their unanimity; and it might have been expected that the sight of the Roman eagles would have induced them at least to suspend their feuds, and turn their swords on the common enemy. But the love of their country, if so pure a motive ever entered their bosoms, yielded to their hatred of each other; and while the assault was urged with skill and perseverance without, the slaughter was continued with frantic rage within. The solid towers were incapable of resisting the incessant strokes of the Roman machines. The soldiers, eager for plunder, poured in tides through the breach, and round the temple alone a desperate band of the inhabitants still maintained the unequal conflict. It was the wish of Titus to have preserved entire that

* Plutarch.

proud and splendid structure; but the sentence of destruction was gone forth; a flaming brand was tossed by the hand of a lawless soldier; the sacred building was instantly involved in fire; and with the temple expired the Jewish nation. A million are supposed to have perished in the siege; and the rest who escaped the sword and captivity, have perpetuated an abject race, who without any settlement have multiplied in almost every part of the globe; and who have alternately enjoyed the protection, and been exposed to the persecution of every government in Europe. After the destruction of Jerusalem, Titus was received at Rome by an exulting father. Their triumph was marked with the utmost magnificence and joy. Among the rich spoils were exposed vast quantities of gold taken out of the temple; but the book of the holy law was not the least remarkable among the magnificent profusion. This was the first time that Rome saw the father and the son triumph together. A triumphal arch was erected on the occasion, which described all the victories of Titus over the Jews. It remains almost entire to this day. Vespasian likewise built a temple to peace, in which most of the Jewish spoils were deposited. The virtues of Vespasian had secured him from open violence and secret conspiracy. After reign-

A. D. 79. ing ten years, loved by his subjects, and deserving their affections, Vespasian died a natural death, and was peaceably succeeded by Titus his son. As he felt the last moment rapidly approaching, the dignity of his station rushed upon his mind: "An emperor," exclaimed he, "ought to die standing;" and, as he endeavoured to raise himself on his feet, he expired in the arms of his attendants. His character has been preserved in the short but expressive description of Pliny: "He was a man, in whom power made no alteration, except in giving him the opportunity of doing good equal to his inclinations."

Vespasian did not promote the happiness of his subjects more by his own reign than by leaving so admirable a successor as his son Titus, who, from his

goodness, was called the delight of mankind. One night at supper, calling to mind that he had not during the day granted a favour to any man, he exclaimed, "Alas! my friends, we have lost a day." He gave incontrovertible proofs of his courage in the siege of Jerusalem, and of justice, moderation, and every virtue which can adorn human nature, while he conducted the affairs of government. His private life was devoted to the service of his fellow creatures.

The popularity of his brother facilitated the election of Domitian, in spite of the ill opinion many had already conceived of him. (799) He so far degenerated from the two excellent examples of his father and brother, as to seem more desirous of copying Nero or Caligula; and accordingly he met with their fate, being murdered by some of his nearest relations. The senate, in detestation of his memory, ordered his name to be rased out of all public acts. A. D. 81.

(800) Nerva had scarcely accepted the purple from the assassins of Domitian, before he discovered that his feeble age was unable to stem the torrent of public disorders, which had multiplied under the long tyranny of his predecessors. His mildness, which bordered on weakness, is the only failing which tarnished his short administration; but those qualities, which are amiable in a subject, are frequently dangerous in a prince. After a short reign of sixteen months, he adopted Trajan as his successor, who possessed every virtue that can adorn a sovereign. A. D. 97.

(801) Trajan is distinguished as the greatest and best emperor of Rome. Others might have equalled him in war, and some might have been his rivals in clemency and goodness; but he seems the only prince who united those talents. He received the most valuable instructions, respecting his conduct and the government of the empire, from Plutarch the philosopher, who had the honour of being his master. His application to business, his moderation to his enemies, his humility in power, his liberality to the deserving, and his frugality in his own expenses, A. D. 98.

have been the subject of panegyric among his contemporaries, and continue to be the admiration of posterity.

Upon giving the sword to the prefect of the prætorian bands, according to custom, he made use of this remarkable expression: "Take this sword, and use it; if I have merit, for me; if otherwise, against me." After which he added, "That he who gave laws, was the first who was bound to observe them."

How highly he was esteemed by his subjects, appears from the manner of congratulating his successors, on their accession to the government. "We wish you," said they, "the fortune of Augustus, and the goodness of Trajan." He died in the sixty-third year of his age, and twentieth of his reign.

(802) The successor of Trajan was Adrian, his nephew, under whom the government flourished in peace and prosperity. He was one of the most remarkable of the Roman emperors for the variety of his endowments. He wrote with great eloquence both in prose and verse; he pleaded at the bar, and was one of the best orators of his time. In drawing and painting he was equal to the greatest masters. He was an excellent musician, and sung to admiration. Besides these qualifications, he had an astonishing memory. He knew the names of all his soldiers, though they had been a long time absent from him. He could dictate to one, confer with another, and write on a chosen subject, at the same time with facility.

A. D. 117.

His moderation and clemency were displayed in pardoning the injuries which he had received, when he was a private individual. One day meeting a person, who had formerly been his most inveterate enemy, "My good friend," said he, "you have escaped, for I am made emperor."

It was one of his maxims, that an emperor ought to imitate the sun, which diffuses warmth and vigour over all parts of the earth. He, therefore, prepared to visit his whole empire. Having taken with him a splendid

court and a considerable force, he entered the province of Gaul, where he numbered all the inhabitants. From Gaul he went into Germany, thence to Holland, and then passed over to Britain. There he reformed many abuses, and reconciled the natives to the Romans. For the better security of the northern parts of the kingdom, he built a wall of wood and earth extending from the river Eden in Cumberland to the Tyne in Northumberland, in order to prevent the incursions of the Picts and other northern nations. After travelling into Greece, he passed over into Asia Minor, whence he directed his course into Egypt, where he caused Pompey's tomb, which had long been neglected and almost covered with sand, to be repaired and beautified.

He resided in Africa some time, and erected many magnificent buildings. Among the rest, he ordered Carthage to be rebuilt; calling it after his own name, Adrianople.

After his return, he amused himself in conversing with philosophers and the most celebrated men in every art and science. Favorinus, a man of great reputation at court for philosophy, happening one day to dispute with him on some philosophical subject, acknowledged himself to be overcome. His friends blamed him for giving up the argument, when he might easily have pursued it with success: "What," replied Favorinus, "would you have me contend with a man who is master of thirty legions?"

Some time before his death, he adopted Titus Antoninus. In his last illness he would not be persuaded to observe any regimen, often saying, "That kings died by the multitude of their physicians." In his expiring moments he addressed to his soul these beautiful verses, which still remain a powerful proof of his elegant taste for poetry:

Animula, vagula, blandula,
Hospes, comesque corporis,
Quæ nunc abibis in loca?
Pallidula, rigida, nudula,
Nec, ut soles, dabis jocos.

"Oh fleeting spirit, wandering fire,
"That long has warm'd my tender breast,
"Wilt thou no more my frame inspire?
"No more a pleasing cheerful guest?
"Whither, ah! whither art thou flying?
"To what dark, undiscover'd shore?
"Thou seem'st all trembling, shivering, dying,
"And wit and humour are no more."

Adrian, after a prosperous reign of twenty-two years, left the Roman throne to Titus Aurelius Antoninus, an amiable and good man. His morals were so pure that he was usually compared to Numa, and was surnamed the Pious for his particular attachment to the religion of his country.

A. D. 138.

When any of his subjects attempted to inflame him with a passion for military glory, he would answer, "That he more desired the preservation of one subject, than the destruction of a thousand enemies."

Before his death, he ordered his friends and principal officers to attend him, when he confirmed the adoption of (808) Marcus Aurelius, or Antoninus the Philosopher, without once naming Lucius Verus, who had been joined by Adrian with him in the succession. His funeral oration was pronounced by Marcus Aurelius, who, though left successor to the throne, took Lucius Verus as his associate. Thus Rome for the first time saw itself governed by two sovereigns of equal power, but of very different merit and pretensions. Aurelius was as remarkable for virtues and accomplishments, as his partner in the empire was for ungovernable passions and dissipated morals. One was an example of the greatest goodness and wisdom; the other of ignorance, sloth, and extravagance.

A. D. 161

The irregular life of Verus soon destroyed an excellent constitution; and on a journey from Aquileia

to Rome he was seized with apoplexy, which put an end to his life in the thirty-ninth year of his age.

The Vandals and other barbarous nations having commenced hostilities with unusual rage and devastation, Antoninus crossed the Danube by a bridge of boats. He then attacked the enemy, gained several advantages, burnt their houses and magazines of corn, and received the submission of such as had inconsiderately joined the invasion.

He afterwards retired to a country seat, where he applied himself to the study of philosophy. He was often heard to say, "That a nation must be happy, whose philosophers were kings, or whose kings were philosophers."

Before his Scythian expedition, the people assembled at the gates of his palace, requesting him not to depart till he had given them instructions for their future conduct; so that, if it should please Heaven to deprive them of his presence, they might by his assistance continue in the same paths of virtue into which he had led them by his example. This truly great emperor spent three days in giving them short maxims, by which they might regulate their actions; and having finished his lectures set out on his expedition, amidst the prayers and lamentations of his subjects. At Vienna, however, Antoninus was seized with the plague, which stopped the progress of his arms and put an end to his life. The majesty and prosperity of Rome may be said to have expired with him. In a few years after his decease the imperial purple was successively usurped and profaned by an African and a Syrian, a peasant and a robber. A. D. 180.

CHAPTER III.

Commodus—Pertinax—Didius Julianus—Severus—Caracalla and Geta—Macrinus—Heliogabalus—Alexander—Maximin—Maximus and Balbinus—Gordian—Philip.

A. D. 180.—248.

THE merits of Antoninus paved the way to the throne for his son Commodus; (804) who was acknowledged emperor, first by the army, then by the senate and people, and soon after by all the provinces. A. D. 180. Nothing had been neglected to expand his mind, to correct his growing vices, and to render him worthy of the throne for which he was designed. But the power of instruction is often of little efficacy, except in those happy dispositions, where it is almost superfluous. The lessons of true wisdom are in a moment obliterated by the whispers of a profligate favourite. Every sentiment of virtue and humanity soon became extinct in Commodus. The meanest of the populace were affected with indignation, when they beheld their sovereign enter the lists as a gladiator. The emperor fought in this character seven hundred and thirty-five times. It may be easily supposed, that in these engagements the master of the world was always successful. In the amphitheatre his victories were not often sanguinary; but when he exercised his skill in the school of gladiators or his own palace, his wretched antagonists were frequently honoured with a mortal wound, and obliged to seal their flattery with their blood. History has preserved a long list of consular senators sacrificed to his wanton suspicion, which sought with peculiar anxiety those unfortunate persons connected, however remotely, with the family of the Antonines.

The vacant throne was instantly filled by Pertinax, (805) prefect of the city, an ancient senator of consular rank, whose conspicuous merit had broke through the obscurity of his birth, and raised him to the first honors of the state. He had successively governed most of the provinces of the empire; and in all his great employments, military as well as civil, he had uniformly distinguished himself by the firmness, the prudence, and the integrity of his conduct. The zeal of this virtuous prince to reform the corrupted state proved fatal to himself and his country. The soldiers, dreading the strictness of the ancient discipline, which he was preparing to restore, and regarding the licentiousness of the former reign, raised a general sedition; when, on the eighty-sixth day only after the death of Commodus, Pertinax fell by the hand of one of his guards. From the number of his adventures, he was called the tennis ball of fortune: and certainly no man ever experienced such a variety of situations, with so blameless a character. A. D. 192.

The empire was now openly exposed to sale by the prætorian guards, and purchased by Didius Julianus. (805) Being conducted to the senate-house, he addressed the few senators who were present, in a very laconic speech. "Fathers, you want an emperor, and I am the fittest person you can choose." But even this, short as it seems, was unnecessary, since the senate had it not in their power to refuse their approbation; his address being supported by the army, to whom he had given about a million of our money. The choice of the soldiers was confirmed by the senate, and Didius was acknowledged emperor. A. D. 192.

In a short time afterwards the provinces revolted; and new competitors offering their claims, Severus, the highest bidder, was hailed Augustus; and Didius Julianus was beheaded by a sentence of the senate, as a common criminal, after having purchased, with an immense treasure, an anxious and precarious reign of only sixty-six days.

(807) Severus, having obtained the purple by means of cruelty and bloodshed, secured himself in the government by inculcating the principles of despotism and passive obedience. His will was the law of the empire; the senate no longer possessing the shadow of authority either in the civil or military department. He made an expedition into Britain, and obliged the inhabitants to surrender a considerable part of their country, together with all their arms and military equipage. He built that famous wall, which still goes by his name, extending from Solway Frith, on the west, to the German ocean, on the east. It was eight feet broad, and twelve feet high, strengthened with towers about a mile distant from each other, and communicating by pipes of brass in the wall which conveyed instructions from one garrison to another with incredible despatch.

A. D. 193.

Severus died at York, in the sixty-fifth year of his age, and in the eighteenth of a successful reign. In his last moments he recommended concord to his sons. This salutary advice, however, never reached the heart, nor even the understanding, of those impetuous youths.

A. D. 211.

From this period the Roman empire gradually decayed, being harassed on all sides by powerful invaders, and convulsed by the furious contests of domestic foes.

On the death of Severus (808) Caracalla and Geta, his sons, agreed to divide the empire. Such a form of government might have proved a source of discord between the most affectionate brothers. It was therefore impossible that it could long subsist between two implacable enemies. The unfortunate Geta was assassinated, and Caracalla extended his tyranny over the whole empire.

A. D. 211.

It had hitherto been the peculiar felicity of the Romans, and in the worst of times their consolation, that the most virtuous of their emperors were active, and their most vicious tyrants indolent. Augustus, Trajan, Adrian, and Marcus, visited their extensive

dominions in person, and their progress was marked by acts of wisdom and beneficence. The tyranny of Tiberius, Nero, and Domitian, who resided almost constantly at Rome, or in the adjacent villas, was confined to the senatorial and equestrian orders. But Caracalla was the common enemy of mankind. He left the capital about a year after the murder of Geta. The rest of his reign was spent in the several provinces of the empire, particularly those of the east; and every province was by turns the scene of his rapine and cruelty. The vigour of the soldiers, instead of being confined by the severe discipline of camps, was exhausted by the luxury of cities. The wise instructions of Severus made not the least impression on the mind of his son. One dangerous maxim, worthy of a tyrant, was remembered and abused by Caracalla, "To secure the affections of the army, and to esteem the rest of his subjects as of little value." After a series of cruelties, he was murdered in the sixth year of his reign. A. D. 217. Such was the end of a monster, whose life disgraced human nature.

After the death of Caracalla, the Roman world remained three days without a master. The prætorian guards considered the power of bestowing it as almost a legal claim. The prudence of Adventus, the senior prefect, rejected the dangerous pre-eminence, and they were induced reluctantly to grant it to the crafty Macrinus, (809) whom they neither loved nor A. D. 217. esteemed. Heliogabalus, the natural son of Caracalla, soon supplanted him, and he was put to death, after a short reign of one year and two months.

Heliogabalus was priest of a temple dedicated to the sun, in Emesa, a city of Phœnicia. (820) After his elevation to the throne, he abandoned himself A. D. 218. to the grossest pleasures, and soon experienced disgust and satiety in the midst of his enjoyments. The inflammatory powers of art were summoned to his aid. A studied variety of wines, dishes, and sauces, served to revive his languid appetites;

while a capricious prodigality supplied the place of elegance and taste. The sentiments of honour and gallantry have introduced a refinement of pleasure, a regard for decency, and a respect for the public opinion, into the modern courts of Europe; but the corrupt and opulent nobles of Rome gratified every vice, that could be collected from the mighty conflux of nations and manners. Secure of impunity, careless of censure, they lived without restraint in the society of their slaves and parasites. The emperor, in his turn, viewing every rank of his subjects with the same contemptuous indifference, practised without control his sovereign privilege of luxury and dissipation.

Having been persuaded by his grandmother to adopt his cousin Alexander as his successor, Heliogabalus was soon after put to death by the soldiers, who threw his body into the Tiber, encompassed with heavy weights that it might never rise to claim the attention or compassion of beholders.

(811) Alexander was declared emperor without opposition. The senate wished to confer new titles on him; but he modestly declined them. His liberality endeared him to the army, and his virtue to the senate. The first part of his reign was employed in reforming the abuses of his predecessors. Merit alone was the passport to his protection. He kept a register of persons who were remarkable for their integrity, and encouraged virtue with liberality, in whatever station it appeared. He never acted without previous deliberation, and his abilities in war were equal to his assiduity in peace. But as many years of attention were requisite to restore the morals as well as the energy of the Roman character, he would not engage in any expedition until this reformation was accomplished, although from the remissness of the preceding reigns the Roman territory began to be attacked on every side. At last he marched in the tenth year of his reign against the Parthians and Persians. The prudence and temperance, which he had been accustomed to observe,

A. D. 222.

were productive of the strictest order and discipline. His camp resembled a well regulated city, and the frugality of his table equalled that of the meanest sentinel. His soldiers were so well clothed and armed, and his cavalry so well mounted, that an idea was recalled of Rome in all its former splendour. Having succeeded in completely routing the Persians by a decisive engagement, and taken the cities of Ctesiphon and Babylon, he restored the Roman empire to its former limits. His generals were likewise victorious in Africa, Germany, and Armenia; yet these advantages only hastened the decline of the empire, which, like a constitution already undermined, was daily wasting by its great exertions. About the thirteenth year of his reign, immense swarms of people from upper Germany and other northern nations poured down upon Italy; and passing the Rhine and the Danube, filled the inhabitants with the most terrible consternation. The emperor marched in person with all the levies he could collect to stem the torrent; but the legions encamped around Moquntia disliking the strict discipline of Alexander, and the latter by no means pleased with their tumultuary obedience, a mutual discontent arose. This produced a spirit of sedition, which nothing could moderate. This was the cause of his ruins. The soldiers openly exclaimed, that they were governed by a mean spirited boy, and resolved on electing another emperor. Maximin, an old experienced commander, held conferences with the soldiers, and inflamed their minds to such a degree, that they determined to despatch their present emperor. They sent an executioner, who immediately struck off his head; and shortly after that of his mother. He died in the twenty-ninth year of his age, after a prosperous reign of thirteen years and nine days: by his death we are taught, that neither virtue nor justice can guard us against the misfortunes of this life; yet good men may look forward with certainty to their reward in a place of more equitable distribution.

(812) Maximin, who had been the chief promoter

A. D. 235. of Alexander's death, was chosen emperor. He was a peasant of Thrace, and, in the progress of the emperor Severus through that province, was first elevated to royal notice and approbation. He was of a gigantic size, being no less than eight feet and a half high; and it is said, that he generally ate forty pounds of flesh every day, and drank six gallons of wine.

His mind, uncultivated by literature, and his appearance unpolished by the arts of civil life, were contrasted with the amiable manners of the unhappy Alexander; and the tyrant, conscious of his own deficiencies, and depending on the attachment of his soldiers, persecuted with unrelenting cruelty the rest of mankind. Desirous of extirpating the remembrance of his original obscurity, he confounded in the same indiscriminate ruin, those who had spurned his humble fortune, with those who had relieved his distress and assisted his rising hope. Magnus, a consular senator, was accused of conspiring against him, and without even the form of a trial was put to death. Four thousand of his supposed accomplices were involved in his fate. The nobility of Rome, who had governed provinces, who had commanded armies and triumphed as consuls, were sewed up in the hides of slaughtered animals, exposed to wild beasts, or beaten to death with clubs. From his camp on the Rhine or Danube, for he scorned to visit Italy or Rome, he issued, in the language of despotism, the unfeeling dictates of sanguinary barbarism; and, supported by the power of the sword, trampled on every principle of law and justice. As long as the cruelty of Maximin was confined to the senators of Rome, or the courtiers who attended him, the body of the people regarded it with indifference; but their resentment was aroused as soon as the avarice of the tyrant attacked public property.

A. D. 237. Being superseded by the election of Maximus and Balbinus, (818) as joint emperors, he passed the Alps, and entering Italy approached the city of Aquileia, which he was astonished

to find prepared for the most obstinate resistance, and resolved to maintain a regular siege. His first attempt was to take the city by the storm; but the besieged threw down such quantities of scalding pitch and sulphur upon his soldiers, that they were unable to continue the assault. He then determined on a blockade; but the inhabitants were so resolute, that even the old men and children were seen combating upon the walls, while the women cut off their hair, to furnish the soldiers with bow-strings. Maximin's rage, at this unexpected opposition, was now ungovernable. Having no enemies to wreak his resentment on, he turned it against his own commanders. He put many of his generals to death, as if the city had held out through their neglect or incapacity, while famine made great depredations on the rest of his army.

He was soon after slain in his tent, after a reign of three years and a few days. His son, whom he had associated in his power, shared the same fate. The gates of Aquileia were thrown open to his destroyers, and the head of Maximin on a spear was borne in triumph through the streets. A. D. 238.

His assiduity in a humble station, and his cruelty in power, serve to evince, that there are some men, whose virtues are fitted for obscurity; as there are others, who only shew themselves great when they are placed in an exalted station.

Maximus and Balbinus having soon after come to an untimely end, (814) Gordian, who had already received the title of Cæsar, was the only person who occurred to the soldiers as proper to fill the vacant throne. They carried him to the camp, and unanimously saluted him Augustus and emperor. His name was dear to the senate and people; his tender age promised a long impunity of military licence; and the submission of Rome and the provinces to the choice of the prætorian guards saved the republic, at the expense indeed of its freedom and dignity, from the horrors of a new civil war in the heart of the capital. This emperor fell by the hands A. D. 239.

of one to whom he had been a benefactor. His appointment of (815) Philip, by birth an Arab, and by profession a robber, to the prefecture, proved fatal to the life and power of Gordian. The boldness of the new prefect aspired to the throne; the minds of the soldiers were irritated by artificial scarcity, and the arms, which ought to have defended, were turned against their master. By a sentence of the soldiers, he was stripped and led away to death, and a small monument on the banks of the river Aboras attested the spot of his execution, after a reign of about six years.

A. D. 244.

Philip caused the secular games to be celebrated, with a magnificence superior to any of his predecessors, it being just a thousand years from the building of the city. At this time both Philip and his son were converted to Christianity. A murderer, however, and an usurper, does no great honour to any opinion he may happen to embrace. The army, soon after, revolting in favour of Decius, one of the sentinels, at a blow cut off Philip's head, in the fifth year of his reign.

CHAPTER IV.

Decius — Gallus — Æmilianus — Valerian, Gallienus Claudius — Aurelian — Zenobia, Queen of Palmyra — Tacitus — Florianus — Probus — Carus, Carinus, and Numerian.

A. D. 248—285.

PHILIP having met with the fate he deserved, (816) Decius was universally acknowledged as his successor, whose activity seemed, in some measure, to stop the decline of the Roman empire.—Nothing, however, could prevent the approaching downfal of the state. The obstinate disputes of the Pagans and the Christians within the empire, and the unceasing irruptions of barbarous nations

A. D. 248.

without, enfeebled it beyond the power of remedy. To stop these, a persecution of the Christians, now the most numerous body of the people, was unjustly begun; in which thousands were put to death, and all the arts of cruelty tried in vain to prevent their growing numbers.

The persecution was succeeded by a dreadful devastation from the Goths, particularly in Thrace and Mæsia, where they had been most successful. These barbarians derived their origin from the vast island, or peninsula, of Scandinavia; and the name of the Goths is now lost in that of Swedes. The Scythian hordes likewise, towards the east, bursting through the province of Dacia, retreated with their booty, to return with double force. These irruptions Decius went to oppose in person; and coming to an engagement slew thirty thousand in one battle. Being resolved to pursue his victory, he was by the treachery of Gallus, his own general, led into a defile, where the king of the Goths had secret information to attack him. In this disadvantageous situation, Decius first saw his son killed with an arrow, and soon after his whole army totally routed. Determined not to survive the loss, he put spurs to his horse, and instantly plunging into a quagmire was swallowed up, and his body could never be found.

(817) Gallus, who had thus betrayed the Roman army, had address enough to get himself declared emperor by that part of it which survived the defeat. He was the first who bought a dishonorable peace from the enemies of the state, by agreeing to pay a considerable annual tribute to the Goths, whom it was his duty to repress. Having thus purchased a short relaxation from war, he returned to Rome and followed his pleasures, regardless of the wretched situation of the empire. A. D. 251.

The state of the Roman provinces, at that time, was very deplorable. The Goths and other barbarous nations, not satisfied with their late bribes to continue in peace, broke in like a torrent on the eastern parts

of Europe. On the other side the Persians and Scythians committed most cruel ravages in Mesapotamia and Syria. The emperor, regardless of every national calamity, was lost in sensuality at home; and the Pagans were allowed a power of persecuting the Christians through all parts of the state.

Æmilianus, Gallus's general, having gained a victory over the Goths, was proclaimed Emperor by his conquering army. Hearing this Gallus being roused from the intoxication of pleasure, prepared to oppose his dangerous rival. Both armies met in Mæsia, and a battle ensued, in which Æmilianus was victorious, and the profligate Gallus was slain. His death was merited, and his vices deserved the detestation of posterity.

(818) The senate having refused to acknowledge Æmilianus as emperor, an army, stationed near the Alps, chose Valerian, (819) their own commander, to succeed to the throne, who began to reform the state with a spirit that seemed to indicate a good heart and a vigorous mind. But reformation was become almost impracticable. The disputes between the Pagans and Christians divided the empire as before, and a dreadful persecution of the latter ensued. The northern nations over-ran the Roman dominions in a more formidable manner than ever, and the empire began to be usurped by a multitude of petty leaders, each of whom, neglected the general interest of the state, set up for himself. To add to these calamities, the Persians, under their king Sapor, invaded Syria, and coming into Mesopotamia took the unfortunate Valerian prisoner, as he was making preparations to oppose them. Nothing can exceed the indignities and the cruelties, which were practised on this unhappy monarch, thus fallen into the hands of his enemies. Sapor, we are told, always used him as a foot-stool for mounting his horse: he added the bitterness of ridicule to his insults, and usually observed, that an attitude like that, to which Valerian was reduced, was the best statue that could be erected in honour of his victory. In this

abject situation he lived for some years; and when he sunk under the weight of shame and grief, his skin, stuffed with straw, and formed into the likeness of a human figure, was preserved for ages in the most celebrated temple of Persia; a more real monument of triumph, than the fancied trophies of brass and marble so often erected by Roman vanity. The tale is moral and pathetic. Some historians, however, call the truth of it in question. But whatever treatment Valerian might receive, it is certain that he languished away his life in hopeless captivity.

When Valerian was taken prisoner, his son (820) Gallienus promising to revenge the insult was chosen emperor; but he soon evinced that he sought rather the splendour than the toils of empire. It is not easy to describe the various character of this prince: he was a ready orator, an elegant poet, a skilful gardener, an excellent cook, and a most contemptible sovereign. When the reins of government were held by so weak a hand, it is not surprising that a crowd of usurpers should distract the provinces; but the revival of the thirty tyrants of Athens at Rome is rather the child of an ingenious fancy, than the offspring of truth. The reign of this emperor, however, is marked by accumulated calamities. In Sicily troops of banditti and a licentious crowd of slaves and peasants plundered the country, and intercepted the revenue of the capital. In Alexandria the inhabitants, abandoned to the rage of their passions, maintained a civil war within the city; and for twelve successive years every street was polluted with blood, and every building of strength was converted into a citadel. A. D. 260.

Gallienus, having led an army to besiege the city of Milan which had been taken by one of the usurping tyrants, was there slain by his own soldiers, Martian one of his generals having conspired against him.

(821) The origin of Claudius, who was nominated to succeed Gallienus, was obscure, but his merit had attracted the favor of Decius. He was a man of great valour, remarkable for the A. D. 268.

strength of his body and the vigour of his mind. Thus endowed, he in some measure put a stop to the precipitate decline of the empire, and once more seemed to restore the glory of Rome.

The first labour of Claudius was to revive in his troops a sense of order and obedience; and after painting to them the exhausted state of the empire and the mischief arising from their own lawless caprice, he declared that he intended to point the first effort of their arms against the rapacious barbarians.

These barbarians had made their principal and most successful irruptions into Thrace and Macedonia. They swarmed over all Greece, and had pillaged the famous city of Athens, which had long been the school of polite arts to the Romans. The Goths had no veneration for the embellishments which tend to soften and humanize the mind, but destroyed all monuments of taste and learning with the most savage alacrity. But the empire seemed to tremble in every quarter. Above three hundred thousand barbarians came down the river Danube, with two thousand ships fraught with men and ammunition, spreading terror and devastation on every side.

In this state of universal dismay, Claudius alone seemed to continue unshaken. He marched his disproportioned army against the savage invaders, of whom he made an incredible slaughter; so that the Goths for a considerable time made but feeble opposition; but a pestilential fever put a period to his life, after a reign of two years, to the great regret of his subjects.

The reign of Claudius was active and successful; and such is the character given of him by historians, that he is said to have united in himself the moderation of Augustus, the valor of Trajan, the piety of Antoninus, and all the virtues of the good princes who had reigned before him.

A. U. 270. Immediately after the death of Claudius, the army made choice of (822) Aurelian, master of the horse, who turned his arms

against Zenobia, the celebrated queen of Palmyra and the East. Modern Europe has produced several illustrious women who have sustained with glory the weight of empire; but, if we except the doubtful achievements of Semiramis, Zenobia is perhaps the only female whose superior genius broke through the servile indolence imposed on her sex by the climate and manners of Asia. She claimed her descent from the Macedonian kings of Egypt, equalled in beauty her ancestor Cleopatra, and far surpassed that princess in chastity and valour. She possessed in equal perfection the Greek, the Syriac, and the Egyptian languages; and had compared the merits of Homer and Plato under the tuition of the sublime Longinus.

Odenathus, who had raised himself from a private station to the dominion of the East, courted and obtained her hand, and his success was in a great measure ascribed to her prudence. They twice pursued the Persian monarch to the gates of Ctesiphon; but the Palmyrenian prince, invincible in war, fell a victim to domestic treason, and was assassinated in the midst of a great entertainment by his nephew Mæonis, who was soon after sacrificed by Zenobia to the memory of her husband.

Zenobia had long disclaimed the Roman power, and established an empire of her own. To oppose this extraordinary woman, Aurelian led his army into Asia, when an engagement took place near the city of Emesa, in Syria. Both armies were very powerful and numerous; the one trained up under the most valiant leader of his time; the other led on by a woman, who seemed to control the pride of man. The battle was long and obstinate; victory for some time inclined to the side of the Asiatics; but the perseverance of Aurelian's generals at last carried the day. The enemy was defeated, and Zenobia was obliged to fly to Palmyra for safety. She prepared for a vigorous defence, and declared that the last moment of her reign should be the last of her life.

Palmyra, situated amid the barren deserts of Arabia,

derives its name from the multitude of adjacent palm-trees. The situation between the gulph of Persia and the Mediterranean rendered it convenient to the caravans: and Palmyra, by the elevation of Odenathus and Zenobia, was exalted into a temporary rival of Rome.

The emperor pursuing Zenobia to this city did all in his power to induce her to submission; but the haughty queen refused his proffered terms of life and security with scorn, relying on the succours which she expected from the Persians, the Saracens, and the Armenians. Deceived in this respect and despairing of relief, she attempted to fly into Persia; but was taken by a chosen body of horse sent to pursue her. The city of Palmyra likewise submitted to the conqueror.

The conduct of Zenobia as a captive diminished her former fame. She implored the mercy of Aurelian, acknowledged the guilt of resistance, and imputed it to the counsels of her secretary Longinus, the celebrated critic. The unlettered mind of Aurelian was not to be moved by genius or learning. The unhappy minister was doomed to immediate execution; but the fame of Longinus will survive that of the queen who betrayed him, and the emperor who condemned him.

Zenobia was reserved to grace the emperor's triumph; to whom he afterwards behaved with a generous clemency. She was presented with an elegant villa at Tivoli; her daughters married into noble families, and her race was not extinct in the fifth century.

Historians give us the following account of the death of Aurelian. When he threatened one of his secretaries, who was accused of extortion, the last hope which remained for the criminal was, to involve some of the principal officers of the army in his danger, or at least in his fears. Artfully counterfeiting his master's hand, he shewed them, in a long and bloody list, their own names devoted to death. Without suspecting or examining the fraud, they resolved to secure their lives by the murder of the emperor. On his march, between

Byzantium and Heraclea, Aurelian was suddenly attacked by the conspirators, whose stations gave them a right to surround his person, and after a short resistance fell by the hand of Mucapor, a general whom he had always loved and trusted. He died regretted by the army, detested by the senate, but universally acknowledged as a warlike and fortunate prince, the useful, though severe reformer of a degenerate state.

(823) Tacitus, a man of great merit, and a relation of Cornelius Tacitus, the celebrated historian, succeeded Aurelian in the empire. When he ascended the imperial throne, he gave his estate to the public, and his money to the soldiers. He was extremely temperate, and fond of learning. The works of Tacitus, in particular, were greatly honored by him. He commanded that they should be placed in every public library throughout the empire, and that many copies of them should be transcribed at the public expence. A. U. 275.

His reign began with great moderation and justice; but, after enjoying the empire about six months, he died of a fever in his march to oppose the Persians and Scythians, who had invaded the eastern parts of the empire.

(824) Florianus, the brother of Tacitus, instantly usurped the purple, without waiting for the approbation of the senate. (825) Probus, the heroic general of the East, declared himself the avenger of the insulted authority of that assembly. Though the effeminate troops of Syria appeared unequal to encounter the hardy legions of Europe, yet the activity of Probus triumphed over every obstacle. The veterans of his rival sickened in the sultry heats of Cilicia; and Florianus, after enjoying the emperial title about three months, fell a sacrifice to the contempt of his soldiers at Tarsus. A. D. 276.

The victorious Probus hastened with an army to repress the Germans in Gaul, of whom he killed four hundred thousand. He then marched into Dalmatia, to oppose and subdue the Sar- A. D. 276.

matians. From thence he led his forces into Thrace, and compelled the Goths to sue for peace. The king of Persia submitted at his approach; and on his return to Europe he divided the depopulated parts of Thrace among its barbarous invaders.

The rebellion of Bonosus and Proculus was speedily crushed. The former, who was so remarkable a votary of Bacchus, that he could drink as much wine as ten men without being disordered, being defeated hanged himself in despair. Probus, immediately after his death, could not avoid pointing at the body, and saying, "There hangs, not a man, but a bottle."

The discipline which had been introduced into the camp by Aurelian was maintained, though with less cruelty, by Probus; the troops were exercised in covering with rich vineyards the hills of Gaul and Pannonia; and an unhealthy tract of marshy ground near Sirmium, where Probus was born, was converted into tillage by their labour. But the emperor in these words did not sufficiently consult the fierce dispositions of the legionaries, and an unguarded expression, that on the establishment of universal peace he might abolish the necessity of a standing army, proved fatal to him. In one of the hottest days of summer, as he severely urged their toil, the soldiers threw down their tools, grasped their arms, and broke out into a furious mutiny. The emperor vainly sought refuge in a lofty tower; the doors were forced, and a thousand swords were plunged into the body of the prince. The rage of the troops was extinguished with his life; they lamented their rashness, and by an honorable monument perpetuated the fame of his victories:—"Here lies the emperor Probus, truly deserving the name; a subduer of barbarians, and a conqueror of usurpers."

A. D. 282. On the death of Probus, (826) Carus, then captain of the guards, was proclaimed emperor by the army, who, in order to strengthen his authority, united his two sons, Carinus and Numerian, with him in command; the former of whom

was as much sullied by his vices, as the younger was remarkable for his virtues, modesty, and courage.

The new emperor had scarce time to punish the murderers of the late monarch, when he was alarmed by a fresh irruption of the Sarmatians, over whom he gained a signal victory. The Persian monarch also made some attempts on the empire; but was alarmed at the approach of the Romans, and endeavoured to retard their progress by a negociation of peace. His ambassadors entered the camp about sunset, at a time when the troops were satisfying their hunger with a frugal repast. The Persians expressed their desire of being introduced to the Roman emperor. They were at length conducted to a soldier, who was seated on the grass. A piece of stale bacon and a few hard peas composed his supper. A coarse woollen garment of purple alone announced his dignity. The conference was conducted with the same disregard of courtly elegance. Carus, taking off a cap which he wore to conceal his baldness, assured the ambassadors that, unless their master acknowledged the superiority of Rome, he would speedily render Persia as naked of trees, as his own head was destitute of hair. The ministers of the Great King trembled and retired.

The threats of Carus were not without effect. He marched to the walls of Ctesiphon, and gained a complete victory. What the result of this success might have been is not known, for he was shortly after struck dead by lightning in his tent with many others who were round him.

(827) The talents of Numerian, the youngest son, were rather of the contemplative, than of the active kind. When his father's elevation reluctantly forced him from the shade of retirement, neither his temper nor his pursuits had qualified him for command. His constitution was destroyed by the hardships of the Persian war; and he had contracted from the heat of the climate such a weakness in his eyes, as obliged him to confine himself to the solitude of a tent or litter. The peculiarity of his situation excited the ambition of

Aper, his father-in-law, who hired a mercenary villain to murder the emperor in his litter; and, in order to conceal the fact, reported that he was still alive, but unable to bear the light. In this manner was the dead body carried about for some days, Aper continuing to attend it with the utmost appearance of respect, and seeming to take orders as usual. But a report soon circulated through the camp, at first in secret whispers, and at length in loud clamours, of the emperor's death. The impatience of the soldiers could not long support a state of suspence. When with rude curiosity they broke into the imperial tent, and discovered only the corpse of Numerian, the concealment was interpreted as an evidence of guilt. In the midst of this tumult, Diocletian, one of the most noted generals of his time, was chosen emperor, and killed Aper with his own hand. Carinus, the remaining son, did not long survive his father and brother, being slain by a tribune of the soldiers.

A. D. 284.

CHAPTER V.

Diocletian, Maximian, Galerius, and Constantius—Constantine—Establishment of Christianity—Seat of Empire transferred from Rome to Byzantium.

A. U. 285.—337.

As the reign of Diocletian was more illustrious than that of any of his predecessors, so was his birth more obscure. His parents had been slaves; but the strong claims of merit procured his elevation.

A. D. 285.

Conscious that the weight of the empire was too heavy for a single person to sustain, (828) Diocletian took Maximian, his general, as a partner in the fatigues of duty, making him his equal and companion on the throne. But as dangerous insurrections still broke

out, Diocletian was of opinion, that the empire, assailed on every side, required on every side the presence of an emperor. He therefore resolved again to divide his power, and with the inferior title of Cæsar, to confer on two generals of approved merit an equal share of the sovereign authority. (829) Galerius and Constantius were the two persons invested with the second honours of the imperial purple. The extraction and manners of the former were the same as those of Maximian; but the mother of the latter was a niece of the emperor Claudius; and a youth spent in arms had not changed his mild disposition. The defence of Gaul, Spain, and Britain, was entrusted to Constantius; the banks of the Danube to Galerius; Italy and Africa to Maximian; while Thrace, Egypt, and the rich countries of Asia, were reserved to Diocletian. Each was sovereign within his own jurisdiction, and their united authority extended over the whole monarchy. This was a ruinous plan of policy; but such was the disordered state of the empire, that no abilities could apply a proper remedy. The northen Germanic nations still remained unsubdued. Constantly at war with the Romans, they made irruptions, when the armies, sent to repress their invasions, were called away; and on their return, they as suddenly withdrew into their cold, barren, and inaccessible retreats.

In the mean time, as if the external miseries of the empire were not sufficient, the tenth and last persecution was renewed against the Christians. This is said to have exceeded all the former in severity; and such was the zeal with which it was pursued, that in an ancient inscription we are informed that the government had effaced the name of the Christians, and had restored and propagated the worship of the gods. Their attempts, however, were but the malicious efforts of an expiring party; for Christianity soon after was established by law, and triumphed over the malice of all its enemies.

In the midst of the trouble raised by this persecution, and of the contests that struck at the external

parts of the state, Diocletian and Maximian surprised the world by resigning their dignities on the same day, and retiring into private stations. Historians are much divided concerning the motives that induced them to give up those honours, which they had purchased with so much danger. Lactantius says, that they were compelled to it by Galerius, who threatened them with a civil war, if they refused. Diocletian, at the place of his nativity, spent his time in rural amusements, and at last died either by poison or madness. Maximian longed once more for power, and disturbed the two succeeding reigns with vain efforts to resume it. Being obliged to leave Rome, where he had occasioned great confusion, he went into Gaul, where he was kindly received by Constantine, then acknowledged emperor of the west. But there also continuing his intrigues, and endeavouring to force his own daughter to destroy her husband, he was detected and put to death.

A. D. 305. As soon as Diocletian and Maximian had resigned the purple, their station was filled by the two Cæsars, Galerius and Constantius, who immediately assumed the title of Augustus.

The character of Constantius was truly amiable. He was frugal, chaste, and temperate. Being one day reproached by Diocletian's ambassadors for his poverty, he only intimated his wants to the people, and in a few hours the sums presented him amazed the beholders, and exceeded their highest expectations. "Learn hence," said he then to the ambassadors, "that the love of the people is the richest treasure; and that a prince's wealth is never so safe as when his people are the guardians of his exchequer."

In the second year of his reign, he went over into Britain, and leaving his son (830) Constantine as a kind of hostage in the court of his partner in the empire, he took up his residence at York. He there continued in the practice of his usual virtues, till a sudden indisposition made him begin to think of a successor. Though his son was immediately sent for,

Constantius was past recovery before his arrival. He received him, however, with marks of the utmost affection, and raising himself in his bed gave him several instructions, particularly recommending the Christians to his protection. He then bequeathed the empire to his care, and crying out, "That none but the pious Constantine should succeed him," he expired in his arms.

His death was succeeded by the elevation of Constantine. The ideas of inheritance and succession are so familiar, that the generality of mankind consider them as founded, not only in reason, but nature. Our imagination readily transfers the same principles from private property to public dominion: and whenever a virtuous father leaves behind him a son whose merit seems to justify the esteem, or even the hopes, of the people, the joint influence of prejudice and of affection operates with irresistible weight. A. D. 306.

When Constantine was proclaimed in Britain, his partner in the empire was so much enraged at his advancement, that he was going to condemn the messenger who brought him the account; but being dissuaded, he seemed to acquiesce in what he could not prevent, and sent him the ensigns of royalty.

After the death of Galerius, and the defeat of several competitors for the throne, Constantine became sole master of the Roman world, when he honoured the senate with his presence, and assured that illustrious order of his sincere regard. He now resolved to establish the Christian religion on so sure a basis, that no revolution should shake it. Edicts were issued, declaring that the Christians should be eased of all their grievances, and received into places of trust and authority; and it was ordained that no criminal should for the future suffer death by the cross, which had formerly been the usual way of punishing slaves convicted of capital offences. The progress and establishment of the Christian religion were favoured and assisted by several causes. The zeal A. D. 311.

and virtues of the first Christians, which corresponded with the purity of their doctrines, could not fail to command the veneration of the people, and increase the number of their followers. The doctrine of a future life, and the immortality of the soul, though generally rejected, impressed the minds of the more exalted sages of Greece and Rome. Philosophy pointed out the hope, and divine revelation alone ascertains the existence of a future state. Eternal happiness, on evangelical conditions, was accepted by great numbers of every religion, of every rank, and of every province, in the Roman empire. The ecclesiastical governors of the Christians were taught to unite the wisdom of the serpent with the innocence of the dove.

(831) Having now restore peace through all his dominions, Constantine resolved to transfer the imperial seat from Rome to Byzantium or Constantinople, as it was afterwards called. From this period, the empire, like a flower transplanted into a foreign clime, languished by degrees, and at length sunk into nothing. Five of the seven hills, which, on the approach to Constantinople, appear to rise above each other, were enclosed within the walls of Constantine. The population of his favoured city was the next most serious object of attention. The inhabitants of Rome, and the more ancient cities of the empire, were at first allured or compelled to relinquish their residence; but his subjects were attracted at last by the seat of government, and Constantinople in less than a century became superior to Rome. Italy indeed was desolated by the change. Robbed of its wealth and inhabitants, it sunk into a state of languor. Crowded with villas now deserted by their voluptuous owners, this once fertile country was unable to maintain itself.

A. D. 330.

This removal produced no immediate alteration in the government; the inhabitants of Rome, though with reluctance, submitted to the change; nor was there for two or three years any disturbance in the state, until

at length the Goths, finding that the Romans had withdrawn all their garrisons along the Danube, renewed their inroads, and ravaged the country with the utmost cruelty. Constantine, however, soon repressed their incursions, and so straightened them, that near one hundred thousand of their number perished by cold and hunger. These and some other insurrections being happily suppressed, the government of the empire was divided as follows: Constantine, the emperor's eldest son, commanded in Gaul and the western provinces; Constantius, his second, governed Africa and Illyricum; and Constans, the youngest, ruled in Italy.

The latter part of Constantine's reign was peaceful and splendid. Ambassadors from the Indies came to acknowledge his authority; the Persians, who were ready for fresh inroads, finding him prepared to oppose them, sent humbly to desire his friendship and forgiveness. Having enjoyed an uninterrupted flow of private as well as public felicity, he died in the thirtieth year of his reign. His adherence to chastity and temperance preserved his constitution to a late period of life. In dispatch of business he was indefatigable; in the field he was an intrepid soldier and consummate general. He established a religion that continues to be the blessing of mankind; but pursued a scheme of politics that destroyed the empire. A. D. 337.

CHAPTER VI.

Constantine II. Constantius, and Constans—Julian the Apostate—Jovian and Valentinian—Valens—Gratian—Theodosius—Arcadius and Honorius—Destruction of the Western Empire by Alaric, King of the Goths, and Genseric King of the Vandals—Augustulus, the last Emperor of the West. Odoacer, King of Italy.

A. U. 337.—476.

HITHERTO the characters of the Roman emperors having been intimately connected with the history of the state, its rise or decline might have been said to depend on the virtues or vices, the wisdom or the indolence, of those who governed it. But from this dreary period its recovery was become desperate; no wisdom could obviate its fall, no courage oppose the evils that surrounded it on every side. Instead, therefore, of entering into a minute account of the characters of its succeeding emperors, it will at present suffice to take a general survey of this part of the history, and rather describe the causes by which the state was brought down to nothing, than the persons who neither could hasten nor prevent its decline.

(832) The three sons of the late emperor agreed to a partition of the empire; but three years had scarcely elapsed before Constantine II. and Constans were murdered. Constantius, who reigned twenty-four years, was weak, timid, and unsuccessful. Governed by his eunuchs and his wives, he was unfit to prop the falling empire.

A. D. 337.

(833) Julian his successor, surnamed the Apostate, on account of his relapse into Paganism, assumed the character of supreme pontiff, as soon as he ascended

the throne, according to the custom of his idolatrous predecessors. He dedicated a domestic chapel to his tutelar deity the sun; his gardens were filled with statues and altars of the gods; and each apartment of the palace displayed the appearance of a magnificent temple. Every morning he saluted the parent of light with a sacrifice; the blood of another victim was shed at the moment when the sun sunk below the horizon; and the moon, the stars, and the genii of the night, received their respective and seasonable honours from the indefatigable devotion of Julian. Amidst the sacred, but licentious crowd of priests, of inferior ministers, and of female dancers, who were dedicated to the service of the temple, it was the business of the emperor to bring the wood, to blow the fire, to handle the knife, to slaughter the victim, and thrusting his bloody hands into the bowels of the expiring animal, to draw forth the heart or liver, and to read, with the consummate skill of an haruspex, the imaginary signs of future events. A constant supply of beautiful birds were transported from distant climates to bleed on the altars of the gods; an hundred oxen were frequently sacrificed by Julian in one day; and it soon became a popular jest, that if he should return with conquest from the Persian war, the breed of horned cattle must infallibly be extinguished. "Every part of the world," says Libanius, "displayed the prospect of flaming altars, bleeding victims, and the smoke of incense. The sound of prayer and of music was heard on the tops of the highest mountains; and the same ox afforded a sacrifice for the gods, and a supper for their joyous votaries." A. D. 361.

The Christian religion, however, was founded upon a rock, against which nothing could prevail. It triumphed over all opposition.

Julian, after driving the barbarians, who had taken fifty towns upon the Rhine, out of their new settlements, fell by the Scythian darts in the second year of his reign.

(834) Jovian and Valentinian had virtue and strength sufficient to preserve the empire from immediately falling under its enemies. No prince saw the necessity of restoring the ancient plan of the empire more than Valentinian. The former emperors had drained all the frontier garrisons, merely to strengthen their own power at home; but his whole life was employed in fortifying the banks of the Rhine, making levies, raising castles, placing troops in proper stations, and furnishing them with subsistence for their support.

A. D. 363.

(835) In the reign of the emperor Valens, however, an event, which some discerning politicians had foreseen, brought a new enemy to assist in the universal destruction. That tract of land, which lies between the Palus Mæotis, the mountains of Caucasus, and the Caspian sea, was inhabited by a numerous savage people, who went by the name of the Huns and Alans. Their soil was fertile, and the inhabitants fond of robbery and plunder invaded the country of the Goths, and made that nation fly before them. The Goths, in consternation, presented themselves on the banks of the Danube, and with suppliant air entreated the Romans to allow them a place of refuge. This they easily obtained from Valens, who assigned several portions of land in Thrace for their support, but left them destitute of all needful supplies. Stimulated, therefore, by hunger and resentment they soon after rose against their protectors, and in a dreadful engagement, which was fought near Adrianople, they destroyed Valens and the greatest part of his army.

A. D. 378.

The Roman armies being thus weakened, the emperors, finding it difficult at last to raise levies in the provinces, were obliged to hire one body of barbarians to oppose another. This expedient had its use in circumstances of immediate danger. But the Romans found it as difficult to rid themselves of their new allies, as of their former enemies. Thus the empire was not ruined by any particular invasion, but sunk

gradually under the weight of different attacks. When the barbarians had wasted one province, those who succeeded the first spoilers proceeded to another; till at last, (836) under the emperor Gratian, Italy became the frontier of its own dominion. A. D. 379.

The valour and conduct of Theodosius in some measure retarded the destruction which had begun in the time of Valens; but after his death the enemy became irresistible. A large body of Goths had been called in to assist the regular forces of the empire, under the command of Alaric, their king. This Gothic prince, who is represented as brave, impetuous, and enterprising, perceiving the weakness of the state, and how little Arcadius and Honorius, the successors of Theodosius, were able to secure it, put himself at the head of his barbarous forces, declared war against his employers, and fought the armies of the empire for some years with various success. In proportion as his troops were cut off, he received new supplies from his native forests: and at length, putting his mighty design in execution, passed the Alps, and poured down like a torrent upon the fruitful valleys of Italy. A. D. 395. A. D. 395.

This charming region had long been the seat of indolence and sensual delight: its fields were turned into gardens of pleasure, which only served to enervate the possessors. The timid inhabitants beheld with terror a dreadful enemy ravaging their country, while their wretched emperor Honorius, who was then in Ravenna, still seemed resolved to keep up his dignity, and to refuse any accommodation.

But the inhabitants of Rome felt the calamities of the times with double aggravation. This great city, which had long been mistress of the world, now saw herself besieged by an army of fierce and terrible barbarians; and being crowded with inhabitants, it was reduced, by the extremities of pestilence and famine, to a most deplorable situation. (837) In this extremity the senate despatched their ambassadors to Alaric,

desiring him either to grant them a peace on reasonable terms, or allow them to fight with him in the open field. To this message, however, the Gothic monarch only replied, with a burst of laughter, "That thick grass was easier to cut than thin," implying that their troops when cooped within the narrow compass of the city, would be more easily overcome, than when drawn out in order of battle. He demanded all their riches and their slaves. When he was asked "What then he would leave them;" he sternly replied "Their lives." These were hard conditions for such a city to accept; but compelled by necessity they raised an immense treasure by taxation, and by stripping the heathen temples; and at length bought off their fierce invader. Alaric now finding that he might become master of Rome whenever he thought proper, returned with his army a short time after; pressed it more closely than he had done before, and at last took it. Thus a city, which for ages had plundered the rest of the world, and enriched itself with the spoils of mankind, now felt, in turn, the sad reverse of fortune, and suffered all that barbarity could inflict, or patience endure. The soldiers had liberty to pillage all places except the Christian churches. In the midst of this horrible desolation, so great was the reverence of these barbarians for our holy religion, that the Pagan Romans found safety in applying to those of the Christian persuasion for protection. This dreadful devastation continued for three days, and unspeakable were the precious monuments, both of art and learning, that sunk under the fury of the conquerors.

A. D. 410.

What Alaric spared, Genseric, king of the Vandals, not long after contributed to destroy. His merciless soldiers, for fourteen days successively, ravaged with implacable fury that venerable place. The capital of the empire being thus ransacked several times, and Italy over-run by barbarous invaders from the remotest parts of Europe, the western emperors, for some time, continued to hold the title without the power of royalty.

Honorius lived till he saw himself stripped of the greatest part of his dominions; his capital taken by the Goths; the Huns possessed of Pannonia; the Alans, Suevi, and Vandals, established in Spain; and the Burgundians settled in Gaul, where the Goths also fixed their residence. After some time, the inhabitants of Rome, being abandoned by their princes, feebly attempted to take the supreme power into their own hands. Britain and Armorica began to regulate themselves by their own laws. Thus the power of the state was entirely broken, and those who assumed the title of emperors only encountered certain destruction. (838) At length, even the very name of emperor of the West expired, on the abdication of Augustulus. (839) Odoacer, general of the Heruli, assumed the title of king of all Italy. A. D. 432. A. D. 476.

Such was the end of this great empire, which had conquered mankind with its arms, and instructed the world with its wisdom; which had risen by temperance, and fallen by luxury; which had been established by a spirit of patriotism, and had sunk into ruin, when the empire was become so extensive, that a Roman citizen was but an empty name.

Rome, however, still attracts the presence and commands the admiration of the learned and curious traveller. He views with rapture the glowing figures of the sculptor, he gazes with astonishment on the stupendous works of ancient magnificence, and traces with devout veneration the footsteps of heroes and men of genius.

CHAPTER VII.

Miscellaneous Remarks.

A. C. 30.—A. D. 476.

(840) THE power of the prætorian bands very much conduced to the fall of the Roman empire. They were instituted by Augustus, to guard his person and to maintain his usurped dominion. That such a formidable body might not alarm the Roman people, three cohorts only were stationed in the capital, while the rest were dispersed in the adjacent towns of Italy. After the Romans had been accustomed to subjection, Tiberius, under the pretence of relieving Italy from a heavy burthen and improving the military discipline, assembled them in the city in a permanent camp.

The armed ministers of despotism frequently overturn that throne which they were intended to support. Introduced into the palace and the senate, the prætorian bands began to perceive their own strength, and the weakness of civil government. A succession of emperors, whom they created or dethroned, convinced them that the supreme power was at their disposal.

To curb the insolence and balance the power of those formidable bands, Titus, Trajan, and the Antonines, by restoring the influence of the senate, preserved an intermediate power between them and the army. The image of their ancient freedom was even held up to the people. But Severus, educated in camps, had been accustomed to the despotism of military command. He annihilated the authority of the senate, and governed by the army. He augmented the guards to four times the ancient number, and recruited them indiscriminately from all the provinces of the empire.

Various causes have been assigned for the immense irruptions of barbarians, which poured from the north into the imperial dominions. (841) The decline of the Roman empire, which the barbarous nations perceived, was the true cause of the invasion of the Roman territories. The west and north of Europe, as well as the north of Asia, had always been the seat of roving and martial tribes, who were ready on every occasion to change their abodes, from the desire of more inviting settlements, or the hope of plunder and glory. The defeat and destruction of the Cimbri by Marius, and the terror of the Roman name occasioned by a long series of victories, repressed for a long time the fury of the unconquered nations, and drove to a different direction the torrent of the north. Still, however, a sagacious observer of human affairs might have looked to these regions with anxious forebodings for his country. The philosophical eye of an historian* saw, from afar, the nations that were to revenge the cause of mankind, and marked, on the German frontier, the cloud that was to burst in thunder on Rome.

CHAPTER VIII.

Incidents and curious Particulars.

A. C. 30.—A. D. 476.

(842) IN the beginning of the reign of Augustus, one of his veteran soldiers requested his protection in a certain cause; but the emperor, taking little notice of his request, desired him to apply to an advocate. "Ah!" replied the soldier, "it was not by proxy that I served you at the battle of Actium." This reply pleased Augustus so much, that he pleaded his cause in person, and, of course, gained it for him.

(843) Mæcenas, an able statesman, and a great patron of learning, had great influence over Augustus.

* Tacitus.

His talents qualified him for the highest posts, but his love of ease would not suffer him to accept them. His benevolence, however, often made him employ his credit with the emperor, in behalf of his friends, and seldom without success. Of the freedom with which he corrected the faults of Augustus, Dion Cassius gives us the following remarkable instance. Perceiving the emperor to be much out of temper, while he sat in judgment on some criminals, he wrote the following note, and threw it into his lap:—"Come down from the tribunal, executioner." Augustus read it, and immediately descended, without passing sentence on any of the criminals.

(844) The most remarkable event, that ever distinguished any period, was the nativity of our Saviour Jesus Christ, who was born at Bethlehem, in Judæa, in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of Augustus, and in the year of the world four thousand and four. He was crucified in the thirty-third year of his age, during the reign of Tiberius.

(845) Caligula was so extravagant, that he caused jewels to be dissolved among his sauces. He some times had services of pure gold presented before his guests instead of meat, observing, "That a man should be an economist, or an emperor." Of all animals, the admirable properties of the horse, perhaps, entitle him most to our regard; but the esteem of Caligula for Incitatus, which was the expressive name of his favourite beast, degenerated into a wild and ridiculous passion. His stable, if we may credit the joint testimones of Dion Cassius and Suetonius, was of marble, his manger of ivory, and his collar of pearls. He was admitted as a member into the college of priests, which had been instituted on the deification of the emperor; and if the latter had survived, it was his intention to have recompensed the swiftness and fidelity of Incitatus with the ensigns of the consulship.

A. D. 39.

In the year of Christ forty, the name of Christians was first given, at Antioch, to the followers of the Redeemer of mankind.

(846) In the reign of Claudius, Arria, the wife of Cæcinna Pætus, was a singular pattern of conjugal affection. Camillus Scribonianus, the governor of Dalmatia, having taken up arms against the emperor, Pætus joined himself to his party, and being soon after taken prisoner was sent by sea to Rome. The connubial partner of his prosperity deserted him not in the hour of danger; and Arria in vain solicited the inexorable guards of her husband to indulge her with the mournful pleasure of ascending the same vessel. "It is usual," said she, "to grant to a man of his quality a few slaves to attend him; I will perform that duty, and save you the trouble of a more numerous retinue." Her constancy was not vanquished by their refusal: in a small bark she kept close to the ship, and braved the perils of the turbulent Adriatic. The illness of her only son was a severer trial of her fortitude; she disdained to augment the distress of Pætus by this new affliction; the pious fraud was supported by the painful regulation of her features; her smiles disguised the anxiety of the mother; and when the youth expired, her equivocal answer "that he was at rest," allayed the fears, and satisfied the enquiries of her husband. A. D. 42.

Amidst a corrupt and vicious age, a virtuous prince would have cherished with delight so rare an example of conjugal fidelity. But, in the eyes of the tyrant and his minions, the merits of Arria could not atone for the rashness of Pætus; and the only indulgence, that was granted, was the choice of his own death. While he hesitated, his irresolution was tenderly reproached by the magnanimity of Arria; she plunged a dagger in her bosom, and as her dying hand presented the bloody weapon to her husband, "It is not this wound I feel," exclaimed she, "but that, Pætus, which you must receive."

(847) In the year seventy-nine, an eruption of mount Vesuvius did considerable damage, overwhelming many towns, and sending its ashes into countries more than a hundred miles distant. Upon this memorable

occasion, Pliny, the naturalist lost his life; for being urged by too eager a curiosity to observe the eruptions, he was suffocated in the flames. Among other cities, which were destroyed by this dreadful eruption, were Pompeii and Herculaneum; the ruins of which last have been since discovered.

(848) In the year two hundred and eight, the emperor Severus passed over into Britain, attended by his two sons, his whole court, and a formidable army. He penetrated to the northern extremity of the island, without meeting an enemy. But the concealed ambuscades of the Caledonians, who hung unseen on the rear and flanks of his army, the coldness of the climate, and the severity of a winter march across the hills and morasses of Scotland, are reported to have cost the Romans above fifty thousand men. The Caledonians at last were obliged to sue for peace; but their apparent submission lasted no longer than the present terror. As soon as the Roman legions retired, they resumed their hostile independence; when Severus sent a new army into Caledonia, with the most bloody orders, not to subdue but to extirpate the natives. They were saved by the death of their haughty enemy.

It is supposed, not without a considerable degree of probability, that the invasion of Severus is connected with the most shining period of the ancient British history. Fingal is said to have commanded the Caledonians in that memorable juncture, to have eluded the power of Severus, and to have obtained a signal victory on the banks of the Carron, in which the son of the king of the world, Caracul, fled from his arms along the fields of his pride*. When Fingal lived, and Ossian sung, the striking contrast of the situation and manners of the contending nations must amuse a philosophic mind. The parallel will be little to the advantage of the more civilized people, if we compare the unrelenting revenge of Severus with the generous

* Both Mr. Macpherson and Mr. Whitaker are of opinion, that the Caracul of Ossian is the Caracalla of the Roman History.

clemency of Fingal; the timid and brutal cruelty of Caracalla, the emperor's son, with the bravery, the tenderness, the elegant genius of Ossian; the mercenary chiefs who, from motives of fear or interest, served under the imperial standard, with the freeborn warriors who started to arms at the voice of the king of Morven; the untutored Caledonians, glowing with the warm virtues of nature, with the degenerate Romans, polluted by the mean vices of wealth and slavery.

(849) The emperor Heliogabalus was so partial to the ladies, that he built a senate house for them, with suitable orders, habits, and distinctions, of which his mother was president. All their debates turned on the rights and privileges of women, the fashions of the day, and the different formalities to be used at paying and receiving visits. A. C. 219.

(850) In the year two hundred and forty-nine, the Germans, who invaded the Roman territories during the reign of Decius, were unacquainted with the use of letters; which is among the principal circumstances that distinguishes a civilized people from a herd of savages incapable of knowledge or reflection. Without that artificial help, the human memory soon dissipates or corrupts the ideas committed to her charge; and the nobler faculties of the mind, no longer supplied with models or materials, gradually forget their powers; the judgment becomes feeble and lethargic, and the imagination languid or irregular. Fully to apprehend this important truth, let us attempt, in this improved state of society, to calculate the immense distance between the man of learning and the peasant. The former, by reading and reflection, multiplies his own experience by the examples of distant ages and remote countries; while the latter, rooted to a single spot, surpasses, but very little, his fellow-labourer the ox, in the exercise of his mental faculties.

(851) The keen air of Germany gave the natives strength well adapted to violent exertions, and inspired them with that constitutional bravery, which is the result of good nerves and spirits. The severity of a

winter campaign, that chilled the courage of the Roman troops, was scarcely felt by these hardy children of the North, who in their turn were unable to resist the summer heats, and became debilitated by languor and sickness, under the beams of an Italian sun.

Some ingenious writers have suspected that Europe was much colder formerly than it is at pesent; and the most ancient descriptions of the climate of Germany tend to confirm their theory. The general complaints of intense frost, and eternal winter, are perhaps little to be regarded, since we have no method of reducing to the accurate standard of the thermometer to the feelings or the expressions of an orator, born in the happier regions of Greece or Asia. But the following circumstance is of a less equivocal nature. The rein-deer, that useful animal, from which the savage of the North derives the best comforts of his dreary life, is of a constitution that supports and even requires the most intense cold. He is found on the rock of Spitzberg, within ten degrees of the pole; he seems to delight in the snows of Lapland and Siberia; but at present he cannot subsist, much less multiply, in any country to the south of the Baltic. In the time of Cæsar, the rein-deer, as well as the elk, and the wild bull, was a native of the Hercynian forest, which then overshadowed a great part of Germany and Poland. The modern improvements sufficiently explain the causes of the diminution of the cold. The immense woods have been gradually cleared, which intercepted the rays of the sun. The morasses have been drained, and, in proportion as the soil has been cultivated, the air has become more temperate.

(852) In three hundred and nineteen, the emperor Constantine began to favour the Christian religion; and some years after he ordered all the heathen temples to be destroyed.

In three hundred and twenty-eight, the seat of empire was removed from Rome to Constantinople.

(853) In four hundred and twenty-five, Theodosius established public schools at Constantinople.

In four hundred and forty-seven, Attila, king of the Huns, ravaged Europe.

(854) In four hundred and seventy-six, upon the ruins of the Western empire, several new states arose in Italy and other parts, consisting of Goths, Vandals, Huns, and other barbarians, under whom literature was extinguished, and the works of the learned were destroyed.

CHAPTER IX.

Biographical Sketches.

A. C. 30.—A. D. 476.

(855) PUBLIUS VIRGILIUS MARO, a native of Mantua, spent his early years at Cremona, where his taste was formed, and his rising talents were first exercised. The distribution of the lands about that town to the soldiers of Augustus, after the battle of Philippi, nearly proved fatal to him; and when he attempted to dispute the possession of his fields with a soldier, he was obliged to save his life from the resentment of the lawless veteran, by swimming across a river. On his arrival at Rome, he soon formed an acquaintance with Mæcenas, who introduced him to Augustus. What had been denied to justice and humanity, was granted to genius; the poet was reinstated in his farm, and encouraged to pursue his interest in the capital. But the noise and confined air of Rome neither agreed with the temper nor constitution of Virgil. It was probably beneath the shade of his paternal trees that he composed his Eclogues; and in a rural retirement, near Naples, he planned and finished his Georgics. The latter were read to Augustus soon after his return from Egypt. Even amidst the improvements of modern husbandry, the rules they contain are allowed to be admirable. It was in the forty-second year of his age that he began the immortal

work of his Æneid. When the beautiful verses on Marcellus, in the sixth book, were read to Octavia, she burst into tears, and recompensed the praises of her son by the present of a sum equivalent to eighty pounds sterling for every line. Twelve years of assiduous application completed the Æneid, but destroyed the constitution of Virgil. He had destined three years to the revival of this last and most arduous of his poetic labours. But on his return from Athens to Rome, he was attacked by a slow fever; and expired at Brundusium, in the fifty-fourth year of his age. Conscious of the imperfect state of the Æneid, in his last moments he declared his wish that it might be committed to the flames; but was prevailed on to retract the capricious resolution; and he consented to the publication of it, on condition that whatever lines might appear unequal or unfinished, should be expunged, but that none should be added. The sacred and important office was assigned to two of his friends, Tucca and Varius; and was punctually executed under the inspection of Augustus.

A. C. 19.

Though it is chiefly as an epic poet, that we are called on to admire Virgil, yet his talents qualified him to excel in every species of poetic composition. But his thirst for fame was restrained by the delicacy of his sentiments. He is supposed to have declined exercising his dramatic powers, that he might not obscure the glory of his friend Varius; and to have sacrificed to his intimacy with Horace the unrivalled reputation he might have acquired by indulging his lyric vein.

(856) Tibullus and Propertius, who died about sixteen years before Christ, were celebrated elegiac poets among the Latins. Each of them wrote four books of beautiful elegies, with much spirit, vivacity, and energy. Tibullus was intimate with several literary men of his age, and had a poetical contest with Horace, in gaining the favours of an admired lady.

(857) Mæcenas, a Roman knight, has rendered himself memorable by his liberal patronage of learned

men. He was himself fond of literature, and wrote a history of animals, a treatise on precious stones, and two tragedies. Virgil dedicated to him his Georgics, and Horace his Odes. He died eight years before Christ; and, from the encouragement which the princes of heroic and lyric poetry, among the Latins, received from the favourite of Augustus, every patron of literature, since that period, has been called a Mæcenas.

(858) Quintus Horatius Flaccus, descended from an equestrian family of Venusium, received his education at Rome. Animated with the love of freedom, he joined the camp of Brutus, and was raised to the rank of military tribune. But his courage was not equal to the tumult of battle; and he has himself acknowledged the disgraceful facility, with which in the rout of Philippi he abandoned his shield. His life was spared by the victors, but his estate was confiscated; and his distress first induced him to exert his genius. His verses introduced him to Mæcenas, who recommended him to Augustus in the memorable and flattering words, "Consider Horace as myself." He was soon admitted to a degree of high favour and familiarity with the emperor, who wished to retain him about his person in the capacity of private secretary. But the duties and restraint of office ill suited the indolent and independent disposition of Horace; and though he declined the offer, he still preserved the favour of his prince. He was re-established in his patrimonial estate, and rapidly enriched by the imperial authority; and in his villas on the banks of the Tiber, and in the neighbourhood of Tarentum, was permitted to indulge his inclination for retirement. It was his wish not to outlive his patron Mæcenas; and though the beautiful ode in which he has expressed it, may be more remarkable for its harmony than sincerity, he actually survived that minister only a few days. In the fifty-seventh year of his age, he was seized with a distemper so violent as did not allow him to make a will; but by a verbal disposition he bequeathed his fortune to Augustus, from whom he had received it: and by the command of the A. D. 8.

emperor, his ashes were deposited near those of Mæcenas, with whom in his life he had been so intimately united.

In his Odes, Horace imitated Pindar and Anacreon, the latter of whom he has excelled in refined sentiments, easy and melodious language, and in the pleasing variety of his numbers. In his Satires and Epistles, he displays much wit and humour, as well as good sense. In his Art of Poetry, his taste and judgment are conspicuous. He has expressed in Latin hexameters, what Aristotle had, some ages before, delivered to his pupils in Greek prose.

> "Horace still charms with graceful negligence,
> "And without method talks us into sense *."

(859) Titus Livius, a native of Padua, who died about seventeen years after the birth of Christ, was an elegant and animated historian. His genius, vast as the empire that he has described, has equally commanded the admiration of posterity. Born amidst the tempests of civil commotion, Livy revolved with care and discernment the general causes which had advanced the greatness, and which urged the decline of the Roman republic: his mind seems to have expanded with the subject; and learning must ever regret the loss that has been sustained by the destruction of the latter and more interesting part of his work. Though he wrote in an age of servitude, he retained the fire of freedom; and his esteem for the chiefs, who had fallen in the plains of Pharsalia and Philippi, is preserved in the raillery of Augustus. The admirer of Pompey, however, was chosen to superintend the education of Claudius, who did not avail himself of the talents of his tutor. Livy has been justly censured for being too credulous.

(860) Publius Ovidius Naso was born a poet, and nothing could deter him from pursuing his natural inclination, though he was often reminded that Homer lived and died in the greatest poverty. Every thing

* Pope.

he wrote was expressed in poetical numbers.* His Metamorphoses in fifteen books are extremely curious, on account of the mythological facts and traditions contained in them. It has been said, that Ovid was so exquisitely skilled in the Latin tongue, "that if the Roman language were entirely lost, and nothing left but his works, they alone would be sufficient to retrieve it." By some indiscretion in his conduct, or by an accidental discovery of some secret transactions at court, he incurred the displeasure of Augustus, who sentenced him to perpetual banishment. It is not easy to conjecture, at the distance of eighteen centuries, what crime could induce a prince, who aspired to the glory of polishing the rude, and of protecting the learned, to treat with such inflexible severity a subject, whose manners would have adorned any court, and whose writings reflected such lustre on his reign. Several tedious years, spent on the frozen banks of the Danube, and amidst the savage hordes of Scythia, could not mitigate the anger of the emperor; and his resentment seems to have been consigned to his successor. The tender complaints, which could not move Augustus to mercy, were not likely to affect the stern and dark mind of Tiberius; and four years after the accession of that prince, and on the same day that Livy expired at Padua, Ovid, in the sixtieth year of his age, breathed his last sigh on the inhospitable shores of the Euxine. A. D. 17.

(861) Phædrus, a Thracian, who became the freed man of the emperor Augustus translated into iambic verses the fables of Æsop, in the reign of the emperor Tiberius. They are divided into five books, valuable for their precision, purity, elegance and simplicity. They remained long buried in obscurity, till they were discovered in the library of St. Remi, at Rheims, and published by Peter Pithon, a Frenchman, at the end of the sixteenth century. He died A. D. thirty-three.

Velleius Paterculus, descended from an equestrian family of Campania, who died A. D. forty-five, (862)

* Et quod tentabam scribere versus erat.

wrote an epitome of the history of Greece and Rome and other nations of remote antiquity, in which many particulars are related, that are no where else to be found.

(863) Persius, a Roman knight, wrote satires under the reign of Nero. Six of them remain, which are generally printed with those of Juvenal. As a poet, he is certainly inferior to Horace and Juvenal; but his style is grand and figurative, and suited to the dignity of the stoic philosophy: hence he shines most in recommending virtue and integrity. He died A. D. sixty-two.

Quintus Curtius, who died in the sixty-fourth year of the christian æra, (864) wrote the history of Alexander the Great, in ten books, of which the two first are lost. His style is excellent, and he writes with impartiality. Freinshemius has supplied the two books that were wanting in an admirable manner.

(865) Seneca, a celebrated Stoic philosopher and tragic poet was preceptor to the tyrant Nero, by whom he was put to death, under pretence of being concerned in a conspiracy against him. He left Seneca, however at liberty to chuse his manner of dying, who caused his veins to be opened in a hot bath. Before he submitted to his fate, he wished to dispose of his possessions as he pleased; but this being refused, he turned to his friends, who were in tears, and told them, that since he could not leave them what he believed to be his own, he would leave them at least his own life for an example, an innocent conduct which they might imitate, and by which they might acquire immortal fame. "Be not surprised" said he, "at the sentence passed on me by a man, who has murdered his own mother, and assassinated all his friends." The compositions of Seneca are numerous, and chiefly on moral subjects. He is so much admired for his refined sentiments and virtuous precepts, for his morality, his constancy, and his innocence of manners, that some have not hesitated to rank him among Christian writers.

A. D. 65.

(866) Marcius Annæus Lucanus, a native of Corduba, in Spain, was early removed to Rome, where his rising talents, and panegyrics, recommended him to the emperor Nero. This intimacy was soon productive of honour, and Lucan was raised to the dignity of an augur and quæstor, before he had obtained the proper age. The poet however, had the imprudence to enter the lists against his imperial patron. He chose for his subject Orpheus; and Nero took the tragical story of Niobe. Lucan obtained an easy victory; but Nero became jealous of his poetical reputation, and resolved upon revenge. The insults to which Lucan was daily exposed, at last so provoked his resentment, that he joined Piso in a conspiracy against the emperor, for which he was condemned to die in the same manner as his uncle Seneca. His Pharsalia, or history of the civil wars of Cæsar and Pompey, is a bold and elegant poem; but the irregularities of Lucan are so numerous, that in the opinion of Quintilian he is more an orator than a poet.

A. D. 65.

(867) Pliny the elder, one of the most learned men of antiquity, and Roman governor of Spain, wrote a treatise on Natural History, full of erudition, and as varied as nature itself. Every moment of time was precious to him. At his meals one of his servants read valuable books, from which he afterwards made copious extracts. Even while he dressed himself after bathing, his attention was called away from surrounding objects, and he was either employed in listening to another, or in dictating. His contemporaries had so great an opinion of his abilities, that Lartius Lutinus wished to purchase his remarks on different authors for the enormous sum of 3242*l*. The philosopher, who was rich and independent, rejected the offer, and his compilations, after his death, came into the hands of his nephew, Pliny the younger. He perished by an eruption of mount Vesuvius, A. D. seventy-nine.

(868) Quintilian, a celebrated lawyer, rhetorician, and critic, taught rhetoric at Rome, under Galba, at

the expence of government, with the highest reputation, and formed many excellent orators. Having obtained leave of Domitian to retire, he applied himself to compose his admirable work, called Institutiones Oratoricæ, the most complete treatise on eloquence extant. It is divided into twelve books, in which the author shews what constitutes a perfect orator. He not only mentions the pursuits and employments of the rhetorician, but likewise speaks of his education, and begins with the attention which ought to be paid to him even in his cradle. It abounds with excellent precepts of all kinds, relating to manners as well as criticism; and cannot be read by persons of any age, but with the greatest advantage. He died A. D. ninety-five.

(869) Statius, an ingenious poet, inferior only to Virgil and Horace, died A. D. ninety-six. He has made himself known by two epic poems, the Thebais and Achilleis, which remain unfinished on account of his premature death. In his Sylvæ, or short pieces on several subjects, are many beautiful expressions and strokes of genius.

(869) Lucius Annæus Florus, an historian of the same family with Seneca and Lucan, flourished in the reigns of Trajan and Adrian, and died A. D. ninety-eight. He wrote an abridgment of Roman Annals, in four books, composed in a florid and poetical style, and rather a panegyric on many of the great actions of the Romans, than a faithful and correct recital of their history.

(870) Caius Cornelius Tacitus, a celebrated historian, orator, and statesman, who flourished under Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian, was honoured with the consulship and other places of trust. His Annals, and his History, are among the greatest efforts of the human mind, whether we consider the sublimity and energy of the style, the beauty of the thoughts, or the skill with which he paints the power of the passions. His treatise on the manners of the Germans is a curious and elegant little work; and the life of Agricola,

his father-in-law, must be interesting to an inhabitant of this island, who will find there many particulars concerning the situation, climate, and people of ancient Britain. He died A. D. ninety-nine. Tacitus was the first writer, who applied the science of philosophy to the study of facts. The expressive conciseness of his descriptions has served to exercise the diligence of innumerable antiquarians, and to excite the genius and penetration of the philosophic historians of our own times. His works have been lately well translated into English by Murphy.

(871) Martial, the epigrammatist, who died in one hundred and four, was a panegyrist of the emperors, from whom he obtained the greatest honours, and was rewarded in the most liberal manner. Every thing he did was the subject of an epigram. He wrote inscriptions upon monuments in the epigrammatic style; a new-year's gift was accompanied with a distich; and his pen was employed in the same manner, when he requested a favour, as when he satirized a fault.

(872) Caius Valerius Flaccus, an epic poet, contemporary with Martial, addressed a poem to Vespasian on the Argonautic expedition, in which he professedly imitates Virgil, and often does it in a most happy manner.

(873) Pliny the Younger was highly celebrated for his abilites as a lawyer, in which profession his eloquence was greatly admired. It is not less conspicuous in his epistles. They contain many curious and interesting facts, while they abound with anecdotes of the generosity and humane sentiments of the writer. They are written with elegance and purity, and the reader every where discovers the philanthropy, which so eminently marked the advocate of the Christians. He died A. D. one hundred and sixteen.

(874) Suetonius, the historian and biographer, secretary to Adrian, wrote many books, of which none are extant, but his excellent history of the Twelve Cæsars, and some fragments of his catalogue of celebrated Grammarians. He died in the year one hundred and seventeen.

(875) Plutarch, an eminent historian and philosopher, who lived from the reign of Claudius to that of Adrian, was born at Chæronea, a small city of Bœotia, in Greece. His Lives of the Greek and Roman Worthies are too well known to all nations, to require characterising. The works of Plutarch have been divided into Lives and Morals; and treasures of learning, wisdom, and history, may be found in them. They are a kind of library, and collection of all that was wisely said and done among the ancient Greeks and Romans. After travelling in quest of knowledge, Plutarch opened a school at Rome. The emperor Trajan admired his abilities, honoured him with the office of consul, and appointed him governor of Illyricum. He died A. D. one hundred and nineteen. Some verses, in the Anthologia, supposed to have been writtten on a statue erected by the Romans to his memory, have been elegantly translated by Dryden:

'Chæronean Plutarch, to thy deathless praise
'Does martial Rome this grateful statue raise;
'Because both Greece and she thy fame have shar'd
'Their heroes written, and their lives compar'd.
'But thou thyself could'st never write thy own;
'Their lives have parallels, but thine has none."

(876) Juvenal wrote sixteen satires in a nervous and animated style. They abound with wit and humour; and he is particularly severe upon the vice and dissipation of the age in which he lived. To form an exact comparison between Horace and Juvenal is a difficult undertaking. If it be only argued which of them was the better poet, the victory is already gained on the side of Horace. Virgil himself must yield to him in his choice of words, and perhaps, in the purity of his Latin. He who says that Pindar is inimitable is himself inimitable in his Odes. But the contention between these two great masters is for the choice of satire, to which Juvenal is certainly entitled to the palm. His thoughts are sharper than those of Horace, and his indignation against vice is more vehement. He

treats tyranny, and all vices attending it with the utmost rigour: consequently a noble soul is better pleased with a zealous vindication of Roman liberty, than with a temporising poet. Horace, however, had the disadvantage of the times in which he lived. They were better for the man and worse for the satirist. Those enormous vices, practised under the reign of Domitian, were unknown in the time of Augustus Cæsar. Juvenal, therefore, had a larger field than Horace.—Little follies could not be taken notice of, when oppression was to be scourged instead of avarice. It was not a time to turn into ridicule the false opinions of philosophers, when Roman liberty was to be asserted. Juvenal died A. D. one hundred and twenty-eight.

(877) Justin, an elegant historian, in the age of Antonius, made an abridgment of the universal History of Trogus Pompeius, which was the cause why the original work was lost. It is written in a clear and interesting style, replete with judicious reflections and animated harangues. He died about the year one hundred and fifty.

(878) Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, the Roman emperor and philosopher, whose book of Meditations is universally known and admired, died in one hundred and eighty. His name was so revered, that the Romans enrolled him among their household deities.

(872) The celebrated Longinus, of Greece, is here mentioned, because he fell a victim to Roman cruelty. After teaching the Platonic philosophy for sometime at Athens, he went to Palmyra, at the invitation of Queen Zenobia, and became tutor to her son. He was taken prisoner at the same time with that princess by the emperor Aurelian, who basely caused him to be put to death. When the Syrian queen was brought into the presence of Aurelian, he sternly asked her, how she had presumed to rise in arms against the emperors of Rome! The courage of Zenobia deserted her in the hour of trial, she trembled at the angry clamours of the soldiers who called aloud

A. D. 273.

for her immediate execution, and ignominiously purchased life by the sacrifice of her fame and her friends. It was on their heads, as advisers, that she directed the vengeance of the cruel Aurelian. Longinus, whose soul was harmonised and elevated by literature and sound philosophy, without uttering a complaint, calmly followed the executioner, pitying his unhappy mistress, and bestowing comfort on his afflicted friends. His treatise on the Sublime raised his reputation to such a height as no critic, either before or since, could ever reach. His contemporaries had so great an opinion of his judgment and taste, that they appointed him sovereign judge of all authors; and every thing was received or rejected by the public, according to the decision of Longinus.

(880) Lactantius, an eloquent father of the church, who died in three hundred and twenty-five, was a native of Fermo, in Italy. He became so famous a rhetorician, that Constantine the emperor made him preceptor to his son Crispus. In his Divine Institutions, he proves the truth of the Christian religion, refutes objections, and attacks the absurdities of Paganism. The expressive purity, elegance, and energy of his style, have gained him the name of the Christian Cicero.

(881) Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea, wrote a much approved Ecclesiastical History, and the Life of Constantine, who had a very particular esteem for him, and showed him several tokens of favour. He died A. D. three hundred and forty-two.

Ambrose, bishop of Milan, who composed the noble hymn, "*Te Deum laudamus,*" was an excellent orator. His birth is said to have been followed with a remarkable presage of his future eloquence; for we are told that a swarm of bees came and settled upon his mouth, as he lay in his cradle. He died in three hundred and ninety seven.

Eutropius, who died in four hundred and twenty-eight, wrote a compendious history of Roman Affairs, from the foundation of the city to the reign of Valens, to whom it was dedicated. He was secretary to Con-

stantine the Great, and afterwards served under Julian in his expedition against the Persians.

Boethius, descended of one of the noblest families in Rome, having remonstrated with great spirit against the tyranny of Theodoric, was beheaded in prison by command of that king, in five hundred and twenty-four. He wrote many useful works; but his ethic piece, "On the Consolations of Philosophy,"* is his chief performance, and has always been justly admired both for the matter and for the style. It is a supposed conference between the author and philosophy. Mr. Harris, in his Hermes, has observed, that "with Boethius the Latin tongue, and the last remains of Roman dignity, may be said to have sunk in the Western World."

* De Consolatione Philosophiæ.

BOOK V.

THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN THE EAST, AFTER ITS FALL IN THE WEST, TO THE TAKING OF CONSTANTINOPLE BY THE TURKS.

A. D. 476.——1453.

CHAPTER I.

Eastern Empire—Zeno—Anastasius—Justin—Justinian—Belisarius, a famous Roman General, under the Emperor Justinian.

A. D. 476.—565.

DURING the various vicissitudes and decline of the empire in the West, the imperfect annals of the East present to us the names of Zeno, Anastasius, and Justin, who successively ascended the throne of Constantinople.

After the failure of the Theodosian line, the choice of the senate might be justified, in some measure, by the characters of Martian and Leo. The inheritance of the latter and of the East peaceably devolved on his infant grandson, the son of his daughter Ariadne; and her Isaurian husband, (882) the fortunate Trascalisseus, exchanged that barbarous name for the Grecian appellation of Zeno, when he was invested with the Roman purple, without any endowments of mind or body, without any advantages of royal birth, or superior qualifications. After the

A. D. 474.

decease of the elder Leo, he approached with respect the throne of his son, humbly received as a gift the second rank in the empire, and soon excited the public suspicion on the sudden and premature death of his young colleague, whose life could no longer promote the success of his ambition. But the palace of Constantinople was ruled by female influence, and agitated by female passions: and Verina, the widow of Leo, claiming his empire as her own, pronounced a sentence of deposition against the worthless and ungrateful servant, on whom she had bestowed the sceptre. As soon as she sounded a revolt in the ears of Zeno, he fled with precipitation into the mountains of Isauria, and her brother, Basiliscus was unanimously proclaimed by the servile senate. By a conspiracy of the malcontents, however, Zeno was recalled from exile. The haughty spirit of Verina was still incapable of submission or repose. She raised an army of seventy thousand men, and persisted to the last moment of her life in a fruitless rebellion.

While the east was afflicted by the passions of Verina, her daughter Ariadne was distinguished by the virtues of mildness and fidelity. She followed her husband in his exile, and after his restoration she implored his clemency in favour of her mother.

On the decease of Zeno, Ariadne, the daughter, the mother, and wife of an emperor, gave her hand and the imperial title to Anastasius, (883) an aged domestic of the palace, who survived his elevation above twenty-seven years, and whose character is attested by the acclamation of the people, "Reign as you have lived!" A. D. 491.

The elevation of his successor, (884) Justin of Dacia, was the consequence of his adventurous spirit. With two other peasants of the same village he deserted, for the profession of arms, the employment of agriculture and the pastoral life. On foot, with a scanty provision of biscuit in their knapsacks, the three youths followed the high road for Constantinople, and were soon enrolled, for their strength and stature,

among the guards of the emperor Leo. Under the two succeeding reigns, the fortunate peasant emerged to wealth and honor; and his escape from some dangers which threatened his life was afterwards ascribed to the guardian angel who watches over the fate of kings.

A. D. 518. As no competitor presumed to appear, on the death of the late emperor, Justin was invested with the purple by the unanimous consent of the soldiers. His ignorance was similar to that of Theodoric; and it is remarkable, that in an age not destitute of learning, two contemporary monarchs had never been instructed in the knowledge of the Alphabet. But the genius of Justin was far inferior to that of the Gothic king. The experience of a soldier had not qualified him for the government of an empire; and, though personally brave, the consciousness of his own weakness was naturally attended with doubt, distrust, and political apprehension. He therefore adopted the talents and ambition of his nephew Justinian, an aspiring youth, whom his uncle had drawn from the rustic solitude of Dacia, and educated at Constantinople as the heir of his private fortune, and at length of the Eastern empire. Justin died of a wound, which he had received many years before in battle.

A. D. 527. (885) When Justinian ascended the throne, the kingdoms of the Goths and Vandals had obtained a peaceable establishment in Europe and Africa, but the Roman lawyers and statesmen still asserted the indefeasible dominion of the emperor. After the imperial purple was resigned by the West, the princes of Constantinople assumed the sacred sceptre of the monarchy, and aspired to deliver their subjects from the usurpation of barbarians and heretics. The internal state of Africa afforded an honourable motive, and promised a powerful support to the Roman arms; while the hopes of the Romans were excited by the appointment of Belisarius to the command of their armies.

This hero, who revived the fainting glory of Rome, was born among the Thracian peasants, and served

among the private guards of Justinian. When his patron became emperor, the domestic was promoted to military command, and renewed all the glorious victories, battles, and triumphs, which had rendered the Romans so distinguished in the time of their republic. At last, however, he was disgraced, stripped of all his employments, and confined to his house. His disgrace is ascribed, by a contemporary writer*, to the malice of his enemies at court, who persuaded Justinian, whose jealousy increased with his years, that Belisarius aspired to the sovereignty. But the emperor was soon convinced of his innocence, and set him at liberty.

Justinian died A. D. five hundred and sixty-five, having signalized his name by reuniting Africa and Italy to the empire, and by his public works. There was scarce a city in his dominions, in which he did not erect some stately edifice. He was easy of access, patient, courteous and affable in discourse, and master of those passions, which rage with destructive violence in the breast of despotism. He excelled in the virtues of chastity and temperance. His repasts were short and frugal. On solemn fasts he contented himself with water vegetables; and such was his strength, as well as resolution, that he frequently passed two days and as many nights without tasting any food. The measure of his sleep was not less rigorous. After the repose of a single hour, the body was awakened by the soul, and to the astonishment of his chamberlains Justinian walked or studied till the morning light. Such restless application prolonged time for the acquisition of knowledge and the despatch of business. The emperor professed himself a musician and architect, a poet and philosopher, a lawyer and theologian; and if he failed in the enterprise of reconciling the christian sects, the review of the Roman jurisprudence is a noble monument of his spirit and industry. He published the famous code of laws, called from him the Justinian code.

* Agathias.

CHAPTER II.

Justin II.—Tiberius II.—Maurice—Phocas—Heraclius—Constantine III.—Constans II.

A. D. 565.—668.

DURING the last years of Justinian, his mind was devoted to heavenly contemplation, and he neglected the business of the lower world. Seven nephews of the childless monarch had been educated in the splendor of a princely fortune; they had been shown in high commands to the provinces and armies; their characters were known, their followers were zealous, and as the jealousy of age postponed the declaration of a successor, they might expect with equal hopes the inheritance of their uncle. As soon as he expired, the decisive opportunity was embraced by the friends of Justin. At the hour of midnight his domestics were awakened by an importunate crowd, who thundered at his door and obtained admittance by acknowledging themselves to be the principal members of the senate. These welcome deputies announced the momentous secret of the emperor's decease; reported, or perhaps invented, his dying choice of the best beloved and most deserving of his nephews, and conjured Justin to prevent the disorders of the multitude. After composing his countenance to surprise, sorrow, and decent modesty, Justin, by the advice of his wife Sophia, submitted to the authority of the senate. He was conducted with speed and silence to the palace; the guards saluted their new sovereign; and the martial and religious rites of his coronation were accomplished.

A. D. 565.

(886) The annals of the second Justin were marked with disgrace abroad, and misery at home. In the West, the Roman empire was afflicted by the loss of

Italy, the desolation of Africa, and the conquests of the Persians. Injustice prevailed both in the capital and the provinces. The rich trembled for their property, the poor for their safety, the ordinary magistrates were ignorant or venal, and the complaints of the people could no longer be silenced by the splendid names of a legislator and a conqueror. He therefore determined to lay down the weight of the diadem; and in the choice of a worthy substitute he showed some symptoms of a discerning spirit.

The only son of Justin and Sophia having died in his infancy, the emperor resolved to seek a successor not in his family, but in the republic. His wife recommended Tiberius, his faithful captain of the guards, whose virtues and fortune he might cherish as the fruit of his judicious choice. The ceremony of his elevation to the rank of Cæsar, or Augustus, was performed in the portico of the palace, in the presence of the patriarch and the senate. "You behold," said the emperor to Tiberius, "the ensigns of supreme power. Honour them, and from them you will derive honour. Respect the empress your mother. Delight not in blood, abstain from revenge, avoid those actions by which I have incurred the public hatred, and consult the experience rather than the example of your predecessor. As a man, I have sinned; as a sinner, even in this life, I have been severely punished. But these servants, pointing to his ministers, who have abused my confidence and inflamed my passions, will appear with me before the tribunal of Christ. I have been dazzled by the splendour of the diadem; be thou wise and modest. Remember what you have been; remember what you are. Love your people like yourself; protect the fortunes of the rich; relieve the necessities of the poor." The patriarch having rehearsed the prayers of the church, Tiberius received the diadem on his knees, and Justin, who in his abdication appeared most worthy to reign, addressed the new monarch in the following words:—"If you consent, I live; if you command, I die: may the God of heaven A. D. 574.

and earth infuse into your heart, whatever I have neglected or forgotten." The four last years of the emperor Justin II. were passed in tranquil obscurity; and his choice was justified by the filial reverence and gratitude of Tiberius. He died A. D. five hundred and seventy-eight.

The virtues of (887) Tiberius II. and his beauty, introduced him to the favour of Sophia; and the widow of Justin was persuaded that she should preserve her station and influence under the reign of a second and more youthful husband. But if the ambitious candidate had been tempted to flatter and dissemble, it was no longer in his power to fulfil her expectations, or his own promise. Several of the factions demanded the name of their new empress; when both the people and Sophia were astonished by the proclamation of Anastasia, the secret and lawful wife of the emperor Tiberius. Whatever could alleviate the disappointment of Sophia, imperial honours, a stately palace, a numerous household, were liberally bestowed by the piety of her adopted son. On solemn occasions he attended and consulted the widow of his benefactor. But her ambition disdained the vain semblance of royalty, and the respectful appellation of mother served to exasperate, rather than appease, the rage of an injured woman. While she accepted, and repaid with a courtly smile, the fair expressions of regard and confidence, a secret alliance was concluded between the dowager empress and her ancient enemies. Her designs, however, were frustrated by the wisdom and firmness of the emperor. From the pomp and honours which she had abused, Sophia was reduced to a modest allowance. Tiberius dismissed her train, intercepted her correspondence, and committed to a faithful guard the custody of her person.

A. D. 578.

After recording the vice or folly of so many Roman princes, it is pleasing to repose, for a moment, on a character conspicuous by the qualities of humanity, justice, temperance, and fortitude; to contemplate a sovereign affable in his palace, pious in the church,

impartial on the seat of judgment, and victorious in war.

The Romans of the East would have been happy, if the best gift of heaven, a patriot king, had been confirmed as a permanent blessing. But in less than four years after the death of Justin, his worthy successor sunk into a mortal disease, which left him only sufficient time to restore the diadem, according to the tenure by which he held it, to the most deserving of his fellow citizens. Tiberius selected Maurice from the crowd, a judgment more precious than the purple itself. The patriarch and senate were summoned to the bed of the dying prince. Having bestowed his daughter and the empire, he expressed his hope, that the virtues of his son and successor would erect the noblest mausoleum to his memory. But the most sincere grief evaporates in the tumult of a new reign; and the eyes and acclamations of mankind were speedily directed to the rising sun.

(888) The emperor Maurice, whose youth was spent in the profession of arms, derived his origin from ancient Rome; but his parents were settled at Artabissus, in Cappadocia, and their singular felicity preserved them alive to behold and partake the fortune of their son. He ascended the throne at the mature age of forty-three years, and reigned above twenty years over the East and over himself; expelling from his mind the wild democracy of the passions, and establishing, according to the quaint expression of Evagrius, a perfect aristocracy of reason and virtue. A. D. 582.

The theory of war was not more familiar to the camps of Cæsar and Trajan, than to those of Justinian and Maurice. In the construction and use of ships, engines, and fortifications, the barbarians admired the superior ingenuity of a people, whom they so often vanquished in the field. The science of tactics was transcribed and studied in the books of the Greeks and Romans. The order, evolutions, and stratagems of antiquity, were perfectly understood. But the solitude

or degeneracy of the provinces could no longer supply a race of men to handle those weapons, to guard those walls, to navigate those ships, and to reduce the theory of war into bold and successful practice. The genius of Belisarius had been formed without a master, and expired without a disciple. Neither honour nor patriotism could animate the lifeless bodies of slaves and strangers, who had succeeded to the honours of the legions. The cure of this evil was undertaken by Maurice; but the rash attempt, which drew destruction on his own head, tended only to aggravate the disease. A reformer should be exempt from the suspicion of interest, and he must possess the confidence and esteem of those whom he proposes to reclaim. As these circumstances, however, had not been attended to, the camps both of Asia and Europe were soon agitated with furious seditions. The army of the Danube pronounced Maurice unworthy to reign, expelled or slaughtered his faithful adherents, and, under the command of Phocas, a simple centurion, returned by hasty marches to the neighbourhood of Constantinople. So obscure had been the former condition of Phocas, that the emperor was ignorant of the name and character of his rival: but as soon as he learned that the centurion, though bold in sedition, was timid in the face of danger, "Alas!" cried the desponding prince, "if he is a coward, he will surely be a murderer." It was not long before this sentiment was dreadfully verified. The successful usurper put Maurice and his children to death. The body of the father and his five sons were cast into the sea, their heads were exposed at Constantinople to the insults or pity of the multitude, and it was not till some signs of putrefaction had appeared, that Phocas connived at the private burial of these venerable remains. In that grave the faults and errors of Maurice were interred. His fate alone was remembered; and at the end of twenty years, in the recital of the history of Theophylact, the mournful tale was interrupted by the tears of the audience.

Such tears must have flowed in secret, for compassion would have been criminal under the reign of Phocas, (889) who was peaceably acknowledged in the provinces of the East and West. But Heraclius, viceroy of Africa, and some others at last conspired against the centurion, who disgraced the throne of Constantinople; and the tyrant was seized in his own palace. Stripped of the diadem and purple, clothed in a vile habit, and loaded with chains, he was carried before Heraclius, who reproached him with the crimes of his abominable reign. "Wilt thou reign better?" were the last words of Phocas. After he had suffered variety of contemptuous treatment, his head was severed from his body, and the mangled trunk cast into the flames. A. D. 602.

(890) The voice of the clergy, the senate, and the people, invited Heraclius to ascend the throne, which he had purified from guilt and ignominy. After some graceful hesitation, he yielded to their entreaties. His coronation was accompanied by that of his wife Eudoxia; and their posterity, till the fourth generation, continued to reign over the empire of the East. A. D. 610.

Constantine III. the son and successor of Heraclius, did not survive his elevation more than (891) one hundred and thirty-one days. He expired in the thirtieth year of his age, and, although his life had been a long scene of malady, an idea was entertained that poison had been the means, and his cruel step-mother, Martina, the author, of his untimely fate. A. D. 641.

(892) His son Constans II. on his accession to the crown, caused his brother Theodosius to be put to death, lest the senate or people should one day invade the right of primogeniture, and place him on an equal throne. His murder was avenged by the imprecations of the people, and the assassin, in the fulness of power, departed from his capital into voluntary and perpetual exile. After passing the winter at Athens, he sailed to Tarentum, in Italy, visited Rome, and concluded a

long pilgrimage of disgrace and sacrilegious rapine, by fixing his residence at Syracuse. Odious to himself and to mankind, Constans perished by domestic treason, in the capital of Sicily. A servant who waited in the bath, after pouring warm water on his head, struck him violently with the vase. He fell, stunned by the blow and suffocated by the water: his attendants, who wondered at the tedious delay, going in beheld with indifference the corpse of their lifeless emperor.

A. D. 668.

CHAPTER III.

Constantine IV. — Justinian II. — Philippicus — Anastasius II.—Theodosius III.—Leo III.—Constantine V. — Leo IV. — Constantine VI. and Irene — Nicephorus I. — Stauracius — Michael I.—Leo V.— Michael II.—Michael III.—Basil I.

A. D. 668.—886.

CONSTANS had left in the Byzantine palace three sons, the eldest of whom had been clothed in his infancy with the purple. When the father summoned them to attend his person in Sicily, these precious hostages were detained by the Greeks, and a firm refusal informed him they were the children of the state. The news of his murder was conveyed with almost supernatural speed to Constantinople; and, (893) Constantine IV. the eldest of his sons, inherited his throne. But his reign, like that of his predecessor, was stained with fraternal discord.

A. D. 668.

After the decease of his father, the inheritance of the Roman world devolved to (894) Justinian II.; and the name of a triumphant lawgiver was dishonoured by the vices of a boy, who imitated his namesake only in the extensive luxury of

A. D. 685.

building. His passions were strong; his understanding was feeble; and he was intoxicated with a foolish pride, that his birth had given him the command of millions, of whom the smallest community would not have chosen him for their local magistrate. He became so cruel, that he was called a second Nero. Every tongue was prompt to pronounce, every hand to execute, the death of the tyrant. Destitute of friends, he was at last deserted by his barbarian guards; and the stroke of the assassin was praised as an act of patriotism and Roman virtue.

Philippicus, by whom he was slain, being invested with the purple, was hailed at Constantinople as a hero who had delivered his country from a tyrant. Justinian had left behind him an ample treasure, the fruit of cruelty and rapine, which was soon dissipated by his successor. On the festival of his birth-day, Philippicus entertained the multitude with games, and his nobles with a sumptuous banquet. At the meridian hour he withdrew to his chamber, intoxicated with flattery and wine; forgetful that his example had made every subject ambitious, and that every ambitious subject was his secret enemy. Some bold conspirators introduced themselves during the disor of the feast; and the slumbering monarch was surprised, and deposed, before he was sensible of his danger. A. D. 711.

The traitors, however, were deprived of their reward. The free voice of the senate and people promoted Artemius from the office of secretary to that of emperor. He assumed the title of Anastasius II. and displayed in a short reign the virtues both of peace and war. But, after the extinction of the imperial line, the rule of obedience was violated, and every change diffused the seeds of new revolutions. In a mutiny of the fleet, an obscure and reluctant officer of the revenue was forcibly invested with the purple. After some months of a naval war, Anastasius resigned the sceptre; and the conqueror, (895) Theodosius III. submitted in A. D. 713. A. D. 716.

his turn to the superior ascendant of Leo, the general of the oriental troops. The restless impatience of Anastasius tempted him to risk and lose his life in a treasonable enterprise; but the last days of Theodosius were honourable and secure. The single sublime word, "Salvation *," which he inscribed on his tomb, expresses the confidence of virtue and religion.

A. D. 716. Leo III. was a native of Isauria, and Conon was his primitive name. He possessed the virtues of prudence and fortitude, the knowledge of mankind, and the important art of gaining their confidence and directing their passions. After a reign of twenty-four years, he peaceably expired in the palace of Constantinople; and the purple, which he had acquired, was transmitted by the right of inheritance to the third generation.

A. D. 741. During a long reign of thirty-four years, (896) the son and successor of Leo, Constantine V. was dissolute and cruel. His life was stained with the most opposite vices. He assisted at the execution of the most noble and innocent Christians, surveyed their agonies, and listened to their groans, without satiating his appetite for blood.

A. D. 775. (897) Leo IV. the son of the fifth, and the father of the sixth Constantine, was of a feeble constitution. The principal care of his reign was the settlement of the succession. (898) The association of young Constantine was urged by the officious zeal of his subjects; and the emperor, conscious of his decay, complied after a prudent hesitation with their unanimous wishes. The royal infant, at the age of five years, was crowned with his mother Irene; and the national consent was ratified by every circumstance of pomp and solemnity, that could dazzle the eyes, or bind the conscience of the Greeks. Irene displayed great talents, but committed some atrocious murders on the relations of her husband, and at last filled up the measure of her iniquities by rendering Constantine incapable of the throne. Her emissaries assaulted the

* Salus.

sleeping prince, and stabbed their daggers with violence into his eyes. The blind son of Irene, however, survived many years, oppressed by the court, and forgotten by the world; and the memory of Constantine was recalled only by the nuptials of his daughter Euphrosyne with the emperor Michael II. The people, irritated by her conduct, invested Nicephorus, the great treasurer, with the purple; and, in her exile on the isle of Lesbos, the empress earned a scanty subsistence by the labours of her distaff.

(899) The character of Nicephorus I. was stained with the vices of hypocrisy, ingratitude, and avarice. His want of virtue was not supplied by any superior talents, nor his want of talents by any pleasing qualifications. Unskilful and unfortunate in war, Nicephorus was vanquished by the Saracens, and slain by the Bulgarians; and the advantage of his death overbalanced, in the public opinion, the destruction of a Roman army. His son and heir Stauracius escaped from the field with a mortal wound. On the near prospect of his decease, Michael, the great master of the palace, was named by every citizen, except his envious brother. Tenacious of a sceptre now falling from his hand, he conspired against the life of his successor. Michael I. however, accepted the purple, and before he sunk into the grave, the son of Nicephorus implored the clemency of his new sovereign. Had Michael in an age of peace ascended an hereditary throne, he might have reigned and died the father of his people. But his mild virtues were the best adapted to the shade of private life; for he was neither capable of controlling the ambition of his equals, nor of resisting the arms of the victorious Bulgarians. After an unsuccessful campaign, the emperor left in their winter quarters of Thrace some disaffected troops, who asserted the right of a military election. They marched towards the capital. But the clergy, the senate, and the people of Constantinople, adhered to the cause of Michael. His humanity, however, led

A. D. 802.

A. D. 811.

A. D. 811.

him to yield; for he protested, that not a drop of Christian blood should be shed in his quarrel, and desired his massengers to present the conquerors with
A. D. 813. the keys of the city and the palace. They were disarmed by his submission; and the imperial monk enjoyed the comforts of solitude and religion thirty-two years after he had been stripped of the purple.

The reigns of his successors, (800) Leo V. and Michael II. are not interesting; but the genealogy of Basil I. a native of Adrianople, who murdered Michael III. exhibits a genuine picture of the revolution of the most illustrious families. No sooner was he born, than his cradle, his family, and his city, were swept away by an inundation of the Bulgarians. He was educated a slave in a foreign land; and in this severe discipline he acquired the hardiness of body
A. D. 867. and flexibility of mind which promoted his future elevation. He defeated the Saracens at Cæsarea, and put the empire into a very flourishing condition. But as he had "waded through slaughter to a throne," he could not be happy; and his life was terminated by an accident in the chace in the year eight hundred and eighty-six.

CHAPTER IV.

Leo VI.—Constantine VII.—Romanus—Nicephorus Phocas—Basil II.—Constantine VIII.—Constantine IX.—Constantine X. Monomachus—Theodora—Isaac Comnenus—Constantine XI. Ducas—Eudocia—Romanus Diogenes—Constantine XII.—Alexius I. Comnenus—Manuel.

A. U. 886.—1180.

(901) THE name of Leo VI. the son of Basil I. has been dignified with the title of philosopher; and the union of the prince and the sage, of the active and speculative virtues, would indeed constitute the perfection of human nature. But the claims of Leo are far short of this ideal excellence. His life was spent in the pomp of the palace; and even the clemency which he showed, and the peace which he strove to preserve, are imputed to the softness and indolence of his character. A. D. 886.

(902) Constantine VII. came to the throne at the age of seven years, under the guardianship of his mother Zoe; so that his life and titular reign were nearly of equal duration. But of fifty-four years, six had elapsed before his father's death; and the son of Leo was ever the voluntary or reluctant subject of those who oppressed his weakness, or abused his confidence. A. D. 911.

The death of Constantine was imputed to poison, when his son, (903) Romanus, ascended the throne of Constantinople. A prince, who at the age of twenty could be suspected of anticipating his inheritance, must have been already lost in the public esteem; yet Romanus was rather weak than wicked; and the largest share of guilt was transferred to his wife A. D. 959.

Theophano, a woman of masculine spirit and flagitious manners. In strength and beauty Romanus was conspicuous above his equals. He was tall and straight as a young cypress, his complexion was fair and florid, and his eyes were sparkling. Yet even these perfections were insufficient to fix the love of Theophano; for after a reign of four years she mingled for her husband the like deadly draught, which she had composed for his father.

After this horrid deed, the empress looked around for a protector, and threw herself into the arms of the bravest soldier. Her heart was capricious; but the deformity of the new favourite rendered it more than probable, that interest was the motive of her love. Nicephorus Phocas united, in the popular opinion, the double merit of a hero and a saint. In the former character, his qualifications were genuine and splendid; but his religion was of a more ambiguous cast.

A. D. 963.

(904) In nine hundred and sixty-nine, Basil II. who felt the impulse of genius and the desire of action, was the acknowledged sovereign of Constantinople, and the provinces; but Asia was oppressed by two veteran generals, who laboured to emulate the example of successful usurpation. Against these domestic enemies Basil drew his sword, and they trembled in the presence of a lawful and high-spirited prince.

Of the reign of Constantine VIII. no mention was made in its proper place, because it could only have been said, that his books and music, his pen and his pencil, were a constant source of amusement.

Constantine IX. was for the space of twelve years the obscure and voluntary pupil of a minister, who persuaded him to indulge the pleasures of youth, and to disdain the labours of government. In this silken web the emperor was for ever entangled.

A. D. 1025.

The health of Constantine X. Monomachus, was disturbed by the tortures of the gout, and his dissolute reign was spent in sickness and pleasure. The epithet

of Monomachus, the single combatant, must have been expressive of his valour and victory in some public or private qxarrel. The last measures of Constantine to change the order of succession were prevented by the more vigilant friends of Theodora; and after his decease, with the general consent, she took possession of her inheritance; and by the influence of favourites, the eastern world was for some time peaceably governed. A. D. 1042. A. D. 1054.

From this night of slavery, a ray of freedom, or at least of spirit, begins to emerge. The soldiers, who had served with reluctant loyalty a series of effeminate masters, secretly assembled in the sanctuary of St. Sophia, and the votes of the military synod were unanimous in favour of Isaac Comnenus, whose family supported for some time the sinking empire. A. D. 1057.

In the labour of puerile declamations, his successor, (905) Constantine XI. Ducas, sought in vain the crown of eloquence, more precious in his opinion than that of Rome; and, in the subordinate functions of a judge, he forgot the duties of a soldier and a warrior. Far from imitating the patriotic indifference of the authors of his greatness, Ducas was anxious only to secure, at the expence of the republic, the power and prosperity of his children. A. D. 1059.

During their minority, on the death of Constantine, his widow Eudocia was entrusted with the administration; but experience had taught the jealousy of the dying monarch to protect his sons from the danger of her second nuptials; and her solemn engagement, attested by the principal senators, was deposited in the hands of the patriarch. Romanus Diogenes, a general of the empire, attempted to wrest the sceptre from her, on which she condemned him to death; but after she had seen him, her hatred turned to love, and notwithstanding her promise, she not only pronounced his pardon, but took him for her husband. A. D. 1067.

The barbarian guards, however, raised their battle-

axes in the cause of the house of Ducas, till the young princes were soothed by the tears of their mother, and the solemn assurances of the fidelity of Romanus, who filled the imperial station with dignity and honour. His efforts to resist the progress of the Turks were valiant, but unsuccessful. His defeat and captivity inflicted a deadly wound on the Byzantine monarchy of the East; and after he was released from the chains of the sultan, he vainly sought his wife and his subjects. His wife had been placed in a monastery, and the subjects of Romanus had embraced the rigid maxim of the civil law, that a prisoner in the hands of the enemy is deprived, as by the stroke of death, of all the public and private rights of a citizen.

A. D. 1068.

(906) Constantine XII. born and educated in the purple, confirmed the succession of the Comnenian dynasty. Blessed with a virtuous disposition, pleasing manners, and splendid talents, he was the idol of the people.

A. D. 1076.

Alexius I. Comnenus, was chosen emperor by the troops. The misfortunes of the times were his misfortune and his glory. Every calamity, which can afflict a declining empire, was accumulated on his reign by the justice of heaven and the vices of his predecessors. In the East, the victorious Turks had spread, from Persia to the Hellespont, the reign of the Koran and the crescent. The West was invaded by the adventurous valour of the Normans; and in the moments of peace the Danube poured forth new swarms, who had gained in the science of war, what they had lost in ferociousness of manners. The sea was not less hostile than the land; and while the frontiers were assaulted by an open enemy, the palace was distracted with secret treason and conspiracy. On a sudden, the banner of the cross was displayed by the Latins. Europe was precipitated on Asia; and Constantinople had almost been swept away by this impetuous deluge. In the tempest Alexius steered the imperial vessel with dexterity and courage. At the head of his armies, he was bold in action, skil-

A. D. 1081.

ful in stratagem, patient of fatigue, ready to improve his advantages, and rising from his defeats with inexhaustible vigour. The discipline of the camp was revived, and a new generation of men and soldiers was created by the example and the precepts of their leader. Alexius, with superior policy, balanced the interests and passions of the champions of the first crusade. By his wise regulations, the laws of public and private order were restored; the arts of wealth and science were cultivated; and the limits of the empire were enlarged in Europe and Asia.

Educated in the silk and purple of the east, Manuel, though inferior to Alexius in other respects, possessed that iron temper of a soldier, which cannot easily be paralleled, except in the lives of Richard I. of England, and Charles XII. of Sweden. His arms were exercised on mount Taurus, in the plains of Hungary, on the coast of Italy and Egypt, and on the seas of Sicily and Greece. The influence of his negociations extended from Jerusalem to Rome and Russia; and the Byzantine monarchy, for a time, became an object of respect or terror to the powers of Asia and Europe. Such was the strength of Manuel, and his exercise in arms, that Raymond, surnamed the Hercules of Antioch, was incapable of wielding the lance and buckler of the Greek emperor. In a famous tournament, he entered the lists on a fiery courser, and overturned in his first career two of the stoutest of the Italian knights. In one day, he is said to have slain above forty of the barbarians with his own hand. But the most singular feature in the character of this emperor is the contrast and vicissitude of labour and sloth, of hardiness and effeminacy. In war he seemed ignorant of peace; in peace he appeared incapable of war. In the field he slept in the sun or upon the snow, tired in the longest marches the strength of his men and horses, and shared with a smile the abstinence or diet of the camp. No sooner did he return to Constantinople, than he resigned himself to the pleasures of a life of luxury. In the distress of his last Turkish camp, A. D. 1143.

Manuel endured a bitter reproach from the mouth of a soldier. As he quenched his thirst, he complained that the water of a fountain was mingled with blood. "It is not the first time," exclaimed a voice from the crowd, "that you have drunk the blood of your Christian subjects."

CHAPTER V.

Alexius II.—Andronicus—Isaac Angelus—Alexius Angelus—Conquest of Constantinople by the Latins.

A. D. 1180.—1204.

ALEXIUS II. at the age of ten years ascended the Byzantine throne, after his father's decease had closed the glories of the Comnenian line. As he was quite a youth, he had for his partner in the government, Andronicus, grandson of the great Alexius, and one of the most conspicuous characters of the age, whose genuine adventures might form the subject of a very singular romance. He was both strong and handsome. The want of the softer graces was supplied by a manly countenance, a lofty stature, athletic muscles, and the air and deportment of a soldier. The preservation, in his old age, of health and vigour, was the reward of temperance and exercise. A piece of bread and a draught of water were often his sole repast; and if he tasted a wild boar, or a stag, which he had roasted with his own hands, it was the well-earned fruit of a laborious chace. Dexterous in arms, he was ignorant of fear. His persuasive eloquence could bend to every situation and character of life; and in every deed of mischief, he had a heart to resolve, a head to contrive, and a hand to execute. He had been imprisoned twelve years for treasonable practices against the emperor Manuel, but at last effected his escape, and fled to Russia.

A. D. 1180.

When he was invited to Constantinople, opposition sunk before him. The Byzantine navy sailed from the harbour to receive the preserver of the empire. The torrent was loud and irresistible, and the insects, who had basked in the sunshine of royal favour, disappeared at the blast of the storm. It was the first care of Andronicus to occupy the palace, to salute the emperor, to confine his mother, to punish her minister, and to restore the public order and tranquillity. He then visited the sepulchre of Manuel. The spectators were ordered to stand aloof; but as he bowed in the attitude of prayer, they heared this murmur of triumph and revenge. "I no longer fear thee, my old enemy, who hast driven me like a vagabond to every climate of the earth. Thou art safely deposited under a seven-fold dome, from which thou canst never arise till the signal of the last trumpet. It is now my turn, and speedily will I trample on thy ashes and thy posterity."

(907) In the first months of his administration, his designs were veiled by a fair semblance of hypocrisy. The coronation of Alexius was performed with due solemnity, and his perfidious guardian, holding in his hands the body and blood of Christ, declared, that he lived and was ready to die, for the service of his beloved pupil.

In a short time, however, Andronicus accused and tried the mother of Alexius, for a treasonable correspondence, with the king of Hungary. The empress was put to death, her corpse was buried in the sea, and her memory was wounded by an ugly representation of her beauteous form. The fate of her son was not long deferred. He was strangled with a bow-string, and the Roman sceptre was the reward of the tyrant's crimes.

The government of Andronicus exhibited a singular contrast of vice and virtue. When he listened to his passions, he was the scourge, when he consulted his reason, the father of his people. In the exercise of private justice, he was equitable and rigorous. The provinces, so long the objects of oppression A. D. 1183.

or neglect, revived in prosperity and plenty; and millions applauded the distant blessings of his reign, while he was cursed by those who witnessed his daily cruelties. He behaved in the most tyrannical manner to the relations of the royal family; and at last the people, wearied with his oppressions, rebelled against him. On the first alarm, he rushed to Constantinople; but was astonished by the silence of the palace, the tumult of the city, and the general desertion of his subjects. Andronicus proclaimed a free pardon; but they neither desired, nor would grant, forgiveness. He offered to resign the crown to his son Manuel; but the virtues of the son could not expiate his father's crimes. The tyrant was dragged to the presence of Isaac Angelus, loaded with fetters, and a long chain about his neck. His eloquence, and the tears of his female companions, pleaded in vain for his life; for instead of a legal execution, the new monarch abandoned the criminal to the numerous sufferers, whom he had deprived either of father, husband, or friend. He endured the most dreadful treatment with uncommon patience, and, in his last moments, was very penitent.

A. D. 1185.

A. D. 1204.

(908) Isaac too was dethroned by the ambition of his brother Alexius Angelus; and their discord introduced the French and Venetians, called by historians the Latins, to the conquest of Constantinople, the first great period in the fall of the Eastern empire.

CHAPTER VI.

Baldwin I.—Henry—Peter of Courtenay—Robert—Baldwin II.— Michael Palæologus — Andronicus the Elder—Andronicus the Younger—John Palæologus I. — John Palæologus II. — Constantine Palæologus — Siege and Conquest of Constantinople by the Turks.

A. D. 1204.—1453.

AFTER the conquest of Constantinople by the Latins, the first step was the creation of an emperor. The six electors of the French nation were ecclesiastics, and the six Venetians were the principal ministers of the state. (909) Baldwin, count of Flanders and Hainault, who who had distinguished himself by his heroic conduct in the fourth crusade, was unanimously chosen emperor of the East. He was saluted with loud applause, and the proclamation was re-echoed through the city by the joy of the Latins, and the trembling adulation of the Greeks. A. D. 1204.

Two fugitives, however, still asserted their claim. But the wicked can never love, and should rarely trust, their fellow criminals. (910) Mourzoufle, who was received with smiles and honours in the camp of his father Alexius, was seized in the bath, deprived of his eyes, stripped of his troops and treasures, and turned out to wander an object of horror and contempt. Actuated by fear or remorse, he was stealing over to Asia, when he was seized by the Latins of Constantinople, and condemned to an ignominious death. His judges debated the mode of his execution, the axe, the wheel, or the stake; but it was resolved that Mourzoufle should ascend the Theodosian column, a pillar of white marble one hundred and forty-seven feet high, and from the summit he was cast down headlong, and

dashed in pieces on the pavement, in the presence of innumerable spectators. The fate of Alexius is less tragical. He was sent a captive to Italy, and a gift to the king of the Romans. He had not much reason to rejoice, when the sentence of imprisonment and exile were changed from a fortress in the Alps to a monastery in Asia.

Not long after, the Greeks revolted against Baldwin, and were joined by the king of Bulgaria. As the spirit of chivalry could seldom discriminate caution from cowardice, the emperor took the field with one hundred and forty knights, and their train of archers and serjeants. Being drawn into an ambuscade, he was made prisoner and put to death.

In all civilized hostility, a treaty is established for the exchange or ransom of prisoners; and if their captivity be prolonged, their condition is known, and they are treated according to their rank with humanity. But the savage Bulgarian was a stranger to the laws of war. His prisons, involved in darkness, suffered not the name of a captive to escape, and above a year elapsed before the Latins could be assured of the death of Baldwin. (911) During that time, his brother, the regent Henry, would not consent to assume the title of emperor. His moderation was applauded by the Greeks as an act of rare and inimitable virtue. In the siege of Constantinople, and beyond the Hellespont, Henry had deserved the fame of a valiant knight and a skilful commander; his courage was tempered with a degree of prudence and mildness unknown to his impetuous brother. He died at Thessalonica, in the defence of that kingdom; when Peter of Courtenay, count of Auxerre, was invited by the Latins to assume the empire of the East. His reputation was fair, his possessions were ample, and in the bloody crusade against the Albigenses, the clergy and the soldiers had been abundantly satisfied of his zeal and valour. The reign of his successor Robert, was an æra of calamity and disgrace; and the colony, as it

A. D. 1206.

A. D. 1217.

A. D. 1221.

was styled, of New France, yielded on all sides to the Greeks of Nice and Epirus. His personal misfortunes well prove the anarchy of the government, and the ferocity of the times. He had neglected his Greek bride, to introduce into the palace a beautiful maid, of a private, though noble family, of Artois; and her mother had been tempted by the lustre of the purple to forfeit her engagements with a gentleman of Burgundy. His love was converted into rage. He assembled his friends, forced the palace gates, threw the mother into the sea, and inhumanly cut off the nose and lips of the emperor's concubine.

(912) Baldwin II. who succeeded his brother Robert, visited the Western courts, in order to obtain some supplies of men or money for the relief of the sinking empire. But often was the imperial beggar humbled with scorn, insulted with pity, and degraded in his own eyes and those of the nations he solicited. In his first visit to England, he was stopped at Dover, by a severe reprimand, for presuming without leave to enter an independent kingdom. After some delay, Baldwin was permitted to pursue his journey, was entertained with civility, and thankfully departed with a present of seven hundred marks. From the avarice of Rome he could only obtain the proclamation of a crusade, and a treasure of indulgences.

Michael Palæologus, the guardian and colleague of the young prince of Nice, and possessed of all the virtues and vices that belong to the founder of a new dynasty, now made himself master of Constantinople, and became emperor of the East. Baldwin had flattered himself that he might retain some provinces or cities by a negociation. But his ambassadors were dismissed with mockery and contempt. Every place they named, Palæologus alleged some special reason for not resigning. In one he was born; in another he had been first promoted to military command; in a third he had enjoyed, and hoped long to enjoy, the pleasures of the chace. A. D. 1261.

Andronicus, afterwards surnamed the elder, was

proclaimed and crowned emperor of the Romans, in the fifteenth year of his age. He held that august title nine years as the colleague, and fifty as the successor of his father. The reign of Andronicus the younger was not more glorious or fortunate than that of the elder. He gathered the fruits of ambition; but the flavour was bitter. In the supreme station he lost the remains of his early popularity; and the defects of his character became more conspicuous to the world. The public reproach urged him to march in person against the Turks; but a defeat and a wound were the only trophies of his expedition in Asia, which confirmed the establishment of the Ottoman monarchy.

A. D. 1273.

A. D. 1328.

John Palæologus I. was left an orphan and an emperor, in the ninth year of his age; and his weakness was protected by the first and most deserving of the Greeks. The Roman world, during his reign, was contracted to a corner of Thrace, between Propontis and the Black Sea, about fifty miles in length, and fifty in breadth; a space of ground not more extensive than the lesser principalities of Germany or Italy; yet still the remains of Constantinople represented the wealth and population of a kingdom.

A. D. 1341.

John Palæologus II. immediately after his elevation, proceeded to repudiate his wife, and to contract a new marriage with the princess of Trebizond. Beauty was in his eyes the first qualification of an empress; and he publicly declared, that unless he was indulged with a divorce, he would retire to a cloister, and leave the throne to his brother Constantine.

A. D. 1425.

(913) The last of the Eastern emperors was Constantine Palæologus. It unfortunately happened, that many of these monarchs were more jealous of the progress of the Christians than of the Turks; and though oceans of blood were spilt, yet a Christian kingdom was erected at Jerusalem under Godfrey of Boulogne; but neither he nor his successors possessed

any real power for maintaining it. The Turks, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, had extended their dominions on every side. From Othman they took the name of Othmans; the appellation of Turks, which signifies, in the original, wanderers, or banished men, being considered by them as a term of reproach. Amurath, under whom the order of janizaries was established, fixed the seat of his empire at Adrianople. Bajazet I. after conquering Bulgaria, laid siege to Constantinople, in hopes of subjecting all the Greek empire. His greatness and insolence provoked Tamerlane, a Tartarian prince, who was just returned from his Eastern conquests, to declare war against him. A decisive battle was fought between those rival conquerors in Natolia, on the plain where Pompey defeated Mithridates, when Bajazet's army was cut in pieces, and himself taken prisoner, and shut up in an iron cage, where he ended his life. The successors of Tamerlane, by declaring war against one another, left the Turks more powerful than ever; and though their career was checked by the valour of the Venetians, Hungarians, and the famous Scanderbeg, a prince of Epirus, they gradually reduced the dominions of the Eastern emperors; and after a long siege, Mahomet II. who zealously professed the observance of the koran, took Constantinople. On the ruins of the Roman monarchy in the East, he established the Turkish empire, and his descendants still possess the finest country in our part of the globe. A. D. 1453.

Several days were employed by the sultan in preparing for the assault of this famous city. He dispersed his heralds through the camp, to proclaim the motives of his enterprise. Fear is the first principle of a despotic government; his menaces expressed in the oriental style, "that the fugitives and deserters, had they the wings of a bird, should not escape from his inexorable justice." The Moslems were exhorted to purify their minds with prayer, their bodies with seven ablutions; and to abstain from food till the close of the

ensuing day. The minds of the Christians were agitated by different passions. Despair and fear by turns occupied their bosoms. The noblest of the youths were summoned to the imperial palace by Constantine Palæologus, whose last speech was the funeral oration of the Roman empire. He promised, he conjured, and he vainly attempted to infuse hope, which was almost extinguished in his own mind. In this world he was comfortless and gloomy. Yet this band of warriors, animated by the example of their prince, for some time maintained their superiority; snd the voice of the emperor was heard exhorting his companions and subjects by a last effort to achieve the delivery of their country. But in a moment of lassitude, the janizaries rose invincible, and poured the fury of their arms on their feeble opponents. The tide of battle was impelled by the sultan himself, who on horseback, with an iron mace in his hand, reproved the tardy, and applauded the brave.

The assault now became every moment more vigorous. Hassan, the janizary, was the first who mounted the walls. A crowd of Turks impetuously succeeded; and the Greeks, driven from the rampart, were overwhelmed by increasing multitudes. The remnant of the nobles still fought round the person of the emperor. His mournful exclamation was heard, "Cannot there be found a Christian to cut off my head?" His last fear was that of falling alive into the hands of the infidels. He had before prudently cast away the purple; but in the confusion of the attack he fell by an unknown hand. His body, buried under a mountain of the slain, was discovered by the golden eagles embroidered on his shoes. With his life the resistance of the Greeks expired. The Turks poured in on every side. The walls, which had defied the Goths, which had resisted the united forces of the Avars and the Persians, now yielded to the enthusiasm of the Moslems.

The tidings of misfortune fly with a rapid wing; yet such was the extent of Constantinople, that the more distant quarters enjoyed for some moments the happy

ignorance of their ruin. On the assurance of public calamity, the houses and convents were instantly deserted, and the trembling inhabitants flocked together in the streets. In a short time, the male captives were bound with cords, the females with their veils and girdles. The senators were linked with their slaves, and plebeians with ladies of quality, whose faces had hitherto been invisible to the sun and their nearest kindred. In this common captivity, the ranks of society were confounded; the ties of nature were cut asunder; and the inexorable soldier was careless of the father's groans, the tears of the mother, and the lamentations of the children. The nuns were torn from the altar, with outstretched arms, and dishevelled hair; nor could any place, however sacred or sequestered, protect the persons or the property of the Greeks.

Thus the race of Othman, the disciples of Mahomet, established their government and their religion, in the palace and the churches, which had been founded by Constantine.

CHAPTER VII.

Miscellaneous Remarks.

A. D. 476.—1453.

(914) THE Byzantine empire was most tranquil when it could acquiesce in hereditary succession. But in the intervals of the dynasties, the name of a successful candidate was speedily erased by a more fortunate competitor. Many were the paths that led to the summit of royalty. The fabric of rebellion was overthrown by the stroke of conspiracy, or undermined by the silent arts of intrigue. The favourites of the soldiers or people, of the senate or clergy, of the women and their friends, were alternately clothed with the purple.

The means of their elevation were base, and their end was often contemptible or tragical. (915) A being, endowed with the same faculties as a man, but with a longer measure of existence, would cast a smile of pity on the folly of human ambition, so eager, in a narrow span, to grasp at a precarious and short-lived enjoyment. It is thus that the experience of history exalts and enlarges the horizon of our intellectual prospect. In the period under review, near a thousand years have rolled away, and the duration of a life or reign is often contracted to a fleeting moment. The grave is beside the throne. The success of a criminal is almost instantly followed by the loss of his prize, and the phantoms of several rules, who have passed before our eyes, dwell faintly on our remembrance. Was personal happiness the object of their ambition? The situation of good monarchs is not to be envied. Though they sway the sceptre of dominion with paternal kindness, "their heads must lie uneasy." But the condition of tyrants is pregnant with fear. There is no security, either for prince or people, but in virtue and religion, which will remain "unhurt amidst the war of elements, the wreck of matter, and the crush of worlds."

(916) The fall of the Eastern empire, an event which had been long foreseen, was owing to many causes, of which the chief was the total degeneracy of the Greek emperors, their families, and their courts. The dislike their subjects had to the popes, and the Western church, was another cause. One of their patriarchs declared publicly to a Romish legate, "that he would rather see a turban than the pope's tiara upon the great altar of Constantinople." The effects of domestic slavery were felt by the people in general. Their spirits were broken. Their valour was diminished. The freedom of antiquity might repeat with generous enthusiasm the sentence of Homer, "that on the first day of his servitude, the captive is deprived of one-half of his manly virtue." In the last moments of decay, Constantinople was more opulent and populous

than Athens at her most flourishing æra, when the scanty sum of twelve hundred thousand pounds was possessed by twenty-one thousand male citizens. But each of these citizens was a freeman, whose person and property were guarded by the laws; and who exercised his independent vote in the government of the state.

As the Turks, when they extended their conquests, did not exterminate, but reduced the nations to subjection, the remains of the ancient Greeks still exist, particularly in Constantinople and the neighbouring islands; where they profess Christianity under their own patriarchs.

CHAPTER VIII.

Incidents and curious Particulars.

A. D. 476.—1453.

(917) IN the year five hundred and thirteen, Constantinople was besieged by Vitalianus, whose fleet was burnt by a speculum of brass.

(918) In five hundred and sixteen, the computing of time by the Christian æra was introduced by Dionysius, the monk.

(919) In five hundred and twenty-nine, Justinian, the eastern emperor, published his celebrated code of laws.

(920) In five hundred and fifty-seven, there was a dreadful plague, which continued near fifty years. Æthiopia and Egypt have been stigmatised in every age as the original source and seminary of the plague. In a damp, hot, stagnating air, this African fever is generated from the putrefaction of animal substances, and especially from the swarms of locusts, not less destructive to mankind in their death, than during their lives. The fatal disease, which now depopulated the earth, first appeared in the neighbourhood of Pelusium, between the Serbonian bog and the eastern channel of

the Nile. From thence, tracing as it were a double path, it spread to the east, over Syria, Persia, and the Indies, and penetrated to the west, along the coast of Africa, and over the continent of Europe. In the spring of the second year, Constantinople was visited by this pestilence. The inhabitants were surprised by a slight fever; so slight, that neither the pulse nor the colour of the patient gave any signs of the approaching danger. The next day the disease was declared by the swelling of the glands, particularly those of the groin, of the arm-pits and under the ear; and when these tumours were opened, they were found to contain a black substance, of the size of a lentil. If they came to suppuration, the patient was saved by a discharge of the morbid humour. But if they continued hard and dry, a mortification quickly ensued, and the fifth day commonly terminated life.

Two or three months before the plague broke out, a comet made its appearance. The head was in the east, the tail in the west; and it remained visible forty days. The nations, who gazed with astonishment, expected wars and calamities from the baleful influence; and these expectations were abundantly fulfilled. The astronomers dissembled their ignorance of the nature of these blazing stars, which they affected to represent as the floating meteors of the air; and few among them embraced the simple notion of Seneca and the Chaldæans, that they are only planets of a longer period and more eccentric motion. Time and science have justified the conjectures and predictions of the Roman sage. The telescope has opened new worlds to the eyes of astronomers; and one and the same comet is already found to have revisited the earth in seven equal revolutions of five hundred and seventy-five years.

(921) In five hundred and eighty-one, Latin ceased to be the language of Italy.

(922) In six hundred and thirty-seven, Jerusalem was taken by the Saracens, or followers of Mahomet, who soon after took possession of Alexandria, and burnt its famous library.

(923) In six hundred and fifty-three, the Saracens extended their conquests on every side, and retaliated the barbarities of the Goths and Vandals upon their posterity. They took Rhodes, and destroyed the Colossus.

(924) In seven hundred and forty-eight, the computation of time from the birth of Christ was first used in historical writings.

(925) In seven hundred and seventy, monasteries were dissolved in the east by Constantine.

(926) In the year eight hundred, Charlemagne was crowned emperor of Rome and of the Western empire.

(927) In nine hundred and ninety-one, arithmetical figures were brought into Europe from Arabia by the Saracens. Letters of the alphabet were formerly used.

(928) In one thousand and forty-three, the Turks, a nation of adventurers from Tartary, serving hitherto in the armies of contending princes, became formidable, and took possession of Persia.

(929) In one thousand and fifty, the Turks invaded the Roman empire; and, not long after, they took Jerusalem from the Saracens.

(930) In one thousand and ninety-nine, Jerusalem was retaken by the crusaders.

(931) In one thousand one hundred and fifty-one, the canon law was collected by Gratian, a monk of Bolognia.

(932) In one thousand two hundred and three, Constantinople was besieged and taken by the Latins.

(933) In one thousand two hundred and nine, the works of Aristotle, imported from Constantinople, were condemned by the council of Paris.

(934) In one thousand two hundred and sixteen, Constantinople was recovered from the Latins by the Greek emperors of Nice.

(935) In one thousand three hundred and fifty-two, the Turks first entered Europe.

(936) In one thousand four hundred and fifty-three, the taking of Constantinople by Mahomet II. put an end to the Eastern empire.

CHAPTER IX.

Biographical Sketches.

A. D. 476.—1453.

(937) PROCOPIUS of Cæsarea, a celebrated historian under Justinian, and secretary to Belisarius, died in five hundred and twenty-nine. According to the vicissitudes of courage or servitude, of favour or disgrace, he successively composed the history, the panegyric, and the satire of his own times. The eight books of the Persian, Vandalic, and Gothic wars, which are continued in the five books of Agathias, deserve our attention as a laborious and successful imitation of the Attic, or at least of the Asiatic writers of ancient Greece. His facts are collected from the personal experience and free conversation of a soldier, a statesman, and a traveller; his style continually aspires to, and often attains, elegance; his reflections contain a rich fund of political knowledge; and the historian, excited by the generous ambition of pleasing and instructing posterity, appears to disdain the prejudices of the people, and the flattery of courts.

(938) Belisarius, a famous general in the reign of the emperor Justinian, having taken Carthage, entered Constantinople in triumph, in five hundred and thirty-three. He was sent against the Goths in Italy, and arriving on the coasts of Sicily, took Catania, Syracuse, Palermo, and other places. He then proceeded to Naples, which he took, and marched to Rome. After this he conquered Vitiges, king of the Goths, and sent him to Constantinople, at the same time refusing the crown, which was offered to him. For these great exploits he was regarded as the preserver of the empire, and medals are yet extant which bear this inscription, "*Belisarius gloria Romanorum**." But he was after-

* Belisarius, the glory of the Romans.

wards accused by the nobles of a design on the throne; and Justinian, with the jealousy of an old man, was persuaded to degrade his best servant, and, according to some authors, to deprive him of his sight; and he, who had commanded conquering armies, was obliged to beg his bread in the streets of that capital, which he had saved from various enemies. Others say, that he was confined in a tower, from a window of which he suspended a bag by a cord, to receive the alms of charitable passengers, whom he addressed with these emphatical words: — "Give a half-penny to poor Belisarius, whom envy, and not crime, has deprived of his eyes."* Many, however, are of opinion, that Belisarius, after a short imprisonment, was restored to his possessions and dignities; and that the story of his blindness and beggary is a fiction of later times, which has obtained credit, or rather favour, as a strange example of the vicissitudes of fortune. He died in five hundred and sixty-five.

(939) Photius, a patriarch of Constantinople, who died in eight hundred and ninety, was the greatest man of the age in which he lived. Of his works, the most considerable is his Bibliotheca, which contains the argument or abstracts of two hundred and eighty volumes of different authors; among whom are grammarians, critics, poets, orators, historians, physicians, philosophers, and divines.

(940) Eutychius, a native of Cairo, after practising physic for many years with high reputation, applied himself to the study of divinity, and was elected patriarch of Alexandria. He wrote in Arabic, Annals from the Creation, to the year nine hundred; as also a History of Sicily, the MS. of which is in the public library at Cambridge. He died in nine hundred and fifty.

Eudocia, or Eudoxia, was the wife of the emperor Constantine Ducas. When her son Michael obtained the imperial throne, he shut up his mother in a convent, where (941) she amused herself in writing on the

* Date obolum Belisario, &c.

Pagan mythology. This MS. was in the late French king's library, and does great credit to her talents. She died about the year one thousand and seventy-eight.

(942) Godfrey of Boulogne, a celebrated and victorious general in the crusades, took Jerusalem from the Turks in one thousand and ninety-nine. He was proclaimed king of that city and the adjacent country by the Christian army; but his piety, as historians relate, would not permit him to wear a diadem of gold in the place where his Saviour had been crowned with thorns. Having formed a code of laws for his subjects, he died in one thousand one hundred.

(943) Anna Comnena, daughter of the emperor Alexius Comnenus, was a princess of extraordinary talents. She was married to a man of rank, named Nicephorus Bryennius, and was concerned in a conspiracy against her brother, which was detected. She was treated with great lenity, but lost all favour at court. In consequence of this she went into retirement, where she employed herself in writing the Alexiad, or history of her father's reign, which has great merit, and is still extant. This accomplished lady died one thousand one hundred and eighteen.

(944) Dante, an eminent Italian poet, a native of Florence, wrote a comedy on Paradise, Purgatory, and the infernal Regions, which shews a wonderful imagination. He was of an ambitious turn, and, having attained some of the most considerable posts in the commonwealth, was crushed by the ruins of the faction which he embraced. He died in exile at Ravenna, in one thousand three hundred and twenty-one. An excellent mathematician, of the same name and family, who flourished in the fifteenth century, is memorable for having fitted a pair of wings so exactly to his body, as to be able to fly with them. He made an experiment several times over the lake Trasimenus, and succeeded so well, that he had the courage to perform before the whole city of Perugia, of which he was a native. From the highest part of the city he

directed his flight over the square, to the admiration of the spectators. But unfortunately the iron, with which he managed one of his wings, failed; and then, not being able to balance the weight of his body, he fell on a church, and broke his thigh. He afterwards became professor of mathematics at Venice, and died before he was forty years old.

(945) The celebrated Petrarch, a learned Italian, who has been called the father of modern poetry, was perhaps the first among the moderns, in whom the spirit and genius of literature began to revive. His father was a Florentine, involved in the political factions of the Bianchi family, and wished his son to study the law to assist his views. But Petrarch preferred retirement; and fixed on Vaucluse as an eligible residence, where he fell in love with a lady, named Laura, whom he has celebrated in his poetry. Here also he composed his Latin poem, "Africa," which in the present state of literature would be deemed no prodigy; yet its author was invited at the same time by the senate at Rome and the university of Paris, to receive the poetic crown; when he gave the preference to the summons of the metropolis of the world. The academical honours of the three faculties had introduced a royal degree of master or doctor in the art of poetry; and the title of poet-laureat, which custom, rather than vanity, perpetuates in the English court, was first invented by the Cæsars of Germany. The belief that Virgil and Horace had been crowned in the capitol inflamed the emulation of a Latin bard; and the laurel was endeared to the lover by a verbal resemblance with the name of his mistress.

The ceremony of Petrarch's coronation was performed in the capitol. After discoursing on a text of Virgil, and thrice repeating his vows for the prosperity of Rome, he knelt before the throne, and received from a senator a laurel crown, with the most precious declaration, "This is the reward of merit." In the familiar society of Cicero and Livy, he had imbibed the ideas of an ancient patriot; and his ardent fancy

converted every idea to a sentiment, and every sentiment to a passion. The aspect of the seven hills and their majestic ruins confirmed these lively impressions; and he loved a country, by whose liberal spirit he had been adopted and crowned.

The elaborate compositions of Petrarch in Latin and Italian diverted him from studying a foreign idiom; but as he advanced in life, the attainment of the Greek language was the object of his wishes rather than his hopes. When he was about fifty years of age, a Byzantine ambassador, his friend and a master of both tongues, presented him with a copy of Homer; and the answer of Petrarch is at once expressive of his eloquence, gratitude, and regret. After celebrating the generosity of the donor, and the value of a gift more precious in his estimation than gold and rubies, he thus proceeds: "Your present of the genuine and original text of the divine poet, the fountain of all invention, is highly acceptable. Yet your liberality is still imperfect. With Homer you should have given me yourself; a guide who could lead me into the fields of light, and disclose to my wondering eyes the inimitable beauties of the Iliad and Odyssey. I have seated him by the side of Plato, the prince of poets, near the prince of philosophers; and I glory in the sight of my illustrious guests. I am delighted with the aspect of Homer; and as often as I embrace the silent volume, I exclaim with a sigh, illustrious bard! with what pleasure should I listen to thy song, if my sense of hearing were not obstructed and lost by the death of one friend, and in the much lamented absence of another! Nor do I yet despair; and the example of Cato suggests some comfort and hope, since it was in the last period of age that he attained the knowledge of the Greek letters." Petrarch died in one thousand three hundred and seventy-four; and twenty-five different persons have written his life.

(946) Boccace, a popular writer, who derives his reputation from the Decameron, a hundred novels of pleasantry and love, may aspire to the more serious

praise of restoring in Italy the study of the Greek language. Leo Pilatus, a disciple of Barlaam, whose travels into the East had made him a proficient in Grecian literature, was detained in his way to Avignon by the hospitality of Boccace, who lodged the stranger in his house, prevailed on the republic of Florence to allow him an annual stipend, and devoted his leisure to the first Greek professor, who taught that language in the western countries of Europe. Leo's mind was stored with a treasure of Greek learning. History and fable, philosophy and grammar, were equally familiar to him, who read the poems of Homer in the schools of Florence. It was from his explanation that Boccace composed and transcribed a literal prose version of the Iliad and Odyssey, which satisfied the ambition of his friend Petrarch, whom he survived only a few months.

Poggius Bracciolinus, a Florentine of great talents and learning, who contributed to the revival of literature in Europe, died in one thousand four hundred and fifty-nine. His remarks on the ruins of Rome are natural and affecting. This elegant writer ascended with a friend the Capitoline hill, where they reposed themselves among the ruins of columns and temples, and viewed from that commanding spot the wide and various prospect of desolation. The place and the object gave ample scope for moralizing on the vicissitudes of fortune, which spares neither man nor the proudest of his works, but buries empires and cities in a common grave. When Evander entertained the stranger of Troy, (947) "This Tarpeian Rock," said he, "was a savage and solitary thicket. In the time of Virgil, it was crowned with the golden roofs of a temple. The temple is overthrown, the gold has been pillaged, the wheel of fortune has accomplished her revolution, and the sacred ground is again disfigured with thorns and brambles. The hill of the Capitol, on which we sit, was formerly the head of the Roman empire, the citadel of the earth, the terror of kings; illustrious by the footsteps of so many tri-

umphs, enriched with the spoils and tributes of so many nations. This spectacle of the world, how is it fallen! how changed! how defaced! The path of victory is obliterated by vines, and the benches of the senators are concealed by a dunghill. The forum of the Roman people, where they assembled to enact their laws and elect their magistrates, is now enclosed for the cultivation of vegetables, or thrown open for the reception of swine and buffaloes. The public and private edifices, which were founded for eternity, lie prostrate, naked, and broken, like the limbs of a mighty giant; and the ruin is more visible from the stupendous relics, that have survived the injuries of time and fortune."

(948) Alphonso, king of Arragon, who died in one thousand four hundred and sixty-three, was a learned prince, and a great encourager of literature. He was brave, bountiful, and noble minded, living familiarly with his subjects, and much beloved by them. A courtier once ventured to remonstrate with him, for walking about without a guard:—"A father," said Alphonso, "has nothing to dread in the midst of his children." One of his vessels being in danger of perishing, he jumped into a boat, saying, "I had rather partake, than behold the calamity of my people."

(949) Cosmo, of Medicis, who presided over the republic of Florence thirty-four years, and died in one thousand four hundred and sixty-four, was the father of a line of princes, whose name and age are almost synonymous with the restoration of learning. His riches were dedicated to the service of mankind. He corresponded with Cairo and London; and a cargo of Indian spices and Greek books were often imported in the same vessel.

The genius and education of his grandson Lorenzo rendered him, not only a patron, but a judge and candidate, in the literary race. In his palace, distress was entitled to relief, and merit to reward. Mr. Roscoe has written an elegant life of this great man, who died in one thousand four hundred and ninety-two. He was the father of pope Leo X.

(950) Aldus Manutius was the first of those celebrated printers at Venice, who were as illustrious for their learning, as for uncommon skill in their profession. He was remarkable for printing Greek neatly and correctly. He acquired, indeed, so much reputation in his art, that whatever was finely printed, was proverbially said to have come from the press of Aldus. He died in one thousand five hundred and sixteen.

Raphael, an illustrious painter and architect of Italy, by the general consent of mankind, is acknowledged to have been the prince of painters, and is often styled "the divine Raphael." He was also the best architect; at least so admirable a one, that Leo X. entrusted him with the building of St. Peter's church at Rome. He died in one thousand five hundred and twenty.

Leo X. pope of Rome, being a man of taste, patronized learned men, and equally favoured the arts and sciences. For this he has been often celebrated, and by our countryman Pope in particular.

"But see! each muse in Leo's golden days
"Starts from her trance, and trims her wither'd bays;
"Rome's ancient genius, o'er its ruins spread,
"Shakes off the dust, and rears his rev'rend head.
"Then Sculpture and her sister arts revive;
"Stones leap to form, and rocks begin to live;
"With sweeter notes each rising temple rung;
"A Raphael painted, and a Vida sung."

Leo may be considered as the principal cause of the Reformation. For, in order to complete the magnificent church of St. Peter, he published indulgences for pardoning the sins of those who purchased them. These being brought into Germany, roused Luther against this unwarrantable traffic; and thus a light was kindled, which the pope's authority could not extinguish. He died in one thousand five hundred and twenty-one.

(951) Augurello, an Italian poet and professor of the belles-lettres, at Trevisa, who died in one thousand five hundred and twenty-four, wrote a latin poem, entitled "Chrysopæia," or the art of making gold.

This poem being dedicated to Leo X. who presented him with a large empty purse, saying, "that as he could make gold, he knew how to fill it."

Ariosto, a celebrated Italian poet, author of Orlando Furioso, a work of great merit, translated into English by Mr. Hoole, was crowned with the laurel by the emperor Charles V. After being employed in several embassies and negociations in different parts of Italy, he died in one thousand five hundred and thirty-three.

Vida, a Latin poet, whose poem on Chess is generally known, was a native of Cremona. Clement VII. to whom he presented his poem "De Christo," rewarded him with the bishopric of Alba. He died in one thousand five hundred and sixty-six.

Titian, of Venice, who died in one thousand five hundred and seventy-six, had such a genius for painting, and his colours were so exquisitely beautiful, that there was hardly a distinguished personage in Europe, who did not think it an honour to send him some mark of esteem. When Charles V. gave him money, which was usually a large sum, he always did it with this obliging testimony, "that his design was not to pay him the value of his pictures, because they were above any price."

Tasso, the prince of Italian poets, who died in one thousand five hundred and ninety-five, underwent various changes of fortune, being banished from his country, imprisoned, and, what is more intolerable, oppressed by calumny. His works show him to have been a philosopher, an orator, a logician, a critic, and a poet excellent in every kind of composition. His "*Gierusalemme Liberata*," an epic poem, in twenty-four books, has been called by Balzac the richest and most finished work since the age of Augustus.

Michael Angelo, of Tuscany, a famous painter, who died in one thousand five hundred and ninety-six, took incredible pains to reach the perfection of his art. He loved solitude, and used to say, "that painting was jealous, and required the whole man to herself." As an artist his style is very sublime. His most celebrated

piece is the "Last Judgment; of which an eminent traveller says, that while he viewed it his blood was chilled, and he felt as if all he saw was real.

Metastasio, an elegant Italian poet, when he was only five years old, had such a genius for speaking verses extempore, that the celebrated civilian Gravina, who had adopted him, used to set him on a table to perform the part of an Improvisatore; and at fourteen, he made him translate all Homer into Italian verse. He wrote twenty-six operas, eight orations, and many other pieces. His "Achilles" was written in eighteen days, and his "Hypermnestra" in nine; yet these are two of Metastasio's best dramas. His sonnets are very beautiful. He was extremely candid in his judgment of men of genius, and even of poets with whom he had a difference; for when he had been attacked by them, he has often written an epigram or couplet, to shew his particular friends how he could defend himself, and then thrown it into the fire. Metastasio was for many years imperial laureat, and died at Vienna, in one thousand seven hundred and eighty-two.

BOOK VI.

MANNERS, CUSTOMS, OCCUPATIONS, LAWS, AND MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ROMANS.

CHAPTER I.

Agriculture—Oxen—Ploughs—Land of each Citizen—Vines—Wine kept Two Hundred Years.

(952) ROME, in early ages, agitated by domestic troubles and foreign wars, had only intervals of tranquillity. These precious times were given to agriculture. Then the difference of ranks made none in occupations. The great were not less laborious than the common people; and these two conditions so distinct in the city, under the titles of patricians and plebeians, were lost in the country, in the general name of husbandmen. The ancient Romans were so devoted to agriculture, that their most illustrious commanders were sometimes called from the plough. The senators commonly resided in the country, and cultivated the ground with their own hands. (953) The noblest families derived their surnames from cultivating particular kinds of grain; as the *Fabii**, *Pisones*, *Lentuli*, and *Cicerones*. To be a good husbandman was accounted the highest praise†; and whoever neglected the ground, or cultivated it improperly, was liable to the animadversion of the censors.

* Fabius, from faba, a bean, &c.

† Bonus agricola was equivolent to Vir bonus.

(955) At first no citizen had more ground than he could cultivate with his own hands. Romulus allotted to each only two acres, which must have been dug with the spade. After the expulsion of the kings, seven acres were granted to each citizen. This continued, for a long time, to be the usual portion assigned them in the division of conquered lands. L. Quinctius Cincinnatus, Curius Dentatus, Fabricius, and Regulus, had no more.

(954) The Romans always ploughed with oxen, usually with a single pair, but often with three in one yoke. They had ploughs of various kinds; some with wheels and earth-boards, and others with coulters. What a yoke of oxen could plough in one day was called jugerum, or an acre, two hundred and forty feet long, and one hundred and twenty feet broad. They cut down the corn with a sickle, or scythe; but sometimes the ears were stript off with an iron saw, and the straw afterwards cut. In Gaul, the corn was cut down with a machine drawn by two horses.

While individuals were restricted by law to a small portion of land, and citizens themselves cultivated their own farms, there was abundance of provisions, without the importation of grain; and the republic could always command the service of hardy and brave warriors, when occasion required. But in succeeding ages, especially under the emperors, when landed property was engrossed by a few, and their immense estates were in a great measure cultivated by slaves, Rome was obliged to depend on the provinces, both for supplies of provisions and of men, to recruit her armies. Hence Pliny ascribes the ruin, first of Italy, and then of all the provinces, to overgrown fortunes, and too extensive possessions. The price of land was raised by an edict of Trajan, that no person should be admitted as a candidate for an office, who had not a third part of his estate in land.

(956) The Romans paid great attention to the cultivation of vines, which they usually planted at the distance of five feet. Vines which were transplanted,

bore fruit two years sooner than those that were not. In transplanting trees, they marked on the bark how each stood, that it might point to the same quarter of the heavens, in the place where it was set.

Wine was made much in the same manner as it is now. The grapes were picked in baskets, composed of osiers, and the juice was squeezed out with a press, through a strainer, into a large vat or tub, where it remained till the fermentation was over. The yolks of pigeon's eggs were then put into it, in order to refine it*. After a short time, it was poured into smaller vessels or casks, made usually of earth, and stopped up. On each cask was marked the names of the consuls, or the year when it was made; and the oldest was always put farthest back in the cellar. Wine was also put into leathern bags. If they wished to keep it, they boiled down the quantity contained in a tub to one half; one third, &c. according to the time they intended it should remain untouched. It was often kept to a great age. Wine made in the consulship of Opimius, was to be met with in the time of Pliny, near two hundred years after.

CHAPTER II.

The Roman Dress—The Toga—The Tunic—The Chlamys—The Sagum—The Hair—The Beard—Shoes—Sandals.

(957) THE distinguished part of the Roman dress was the toga or gown, as that of the Greeks was the pallium or cloak.

(958) The toga appears to have been a robe, round and ample, open before as far as the girdle, and without sleeves. It covered the whole body. They fastened it upon the left shoulder, leaving the right arm and

* The white of eggs is now used for that purpose.

shoulder at liberty. Young people of rank wore it with a golden ball hung to a collar.

The Romans had togæ of different kinds. That which they called picta, was interwoven with purple and gold, and embroidered with leaves representing palms. The generals of armies wore them, when they entered Rome in triumph. The prætexta, edged with a binding of purple, was laid aside by young men, at the age of seventeen, when they put on the toga virilis, or habit worn by full grown men. The day on which they assumed this dress, was a day of feasting and rejoicing in the family. The father of the youth gave a feast to his relations and friends. At the conclusion of the repast, they took off the robe prætexta and the golden ball, which they consecrated to the gods, and clothed him with the toga virilis. He was then conducted to the forum, to make his entry into the world, and recommended to some eminent orator, whom he should study to imitate.

Under the emperors, the toga began to fall into discredit. In the reign of Augustus the lower people seldom used it; and the better sort accustomed themselves to put a surtout above it. Augustus could not endure this change. Seeing one day in the forum a great number of citizens thus equipped, he pronounced with indignation the words of Virgil, "*Romanos rerum dominos, gentemque togatam.*" "Look at these Romans, these masters of the universe, that nation whose proper and distinguishing habit is the toga." And he charged the ædiles not to suffer any citizen to appear in the circus, or in the forum, unless he was clothed in the toga, and without a surtout.

The men, as well as the women, wore a tunic* under the toga, with this difference, that the tunic of the men went no lower than the knees, and that of the women to the heels. In order to keep them tight, the tunics were fastened with girdles, which served also for purses. They constituted a part of the decency of dress, and it was offending against it to appear in

* Tunica.

public without a girdle, or with one carelessly tied. Cæsar, and after him Mæcenas, exposed themselves to reproaches on this subject. It gave occasion to that bon mot of Sylla, relating to Cæsar; "Beware," said he to his friends, "of that young man, whose girdle seems to indicate a soft and effeminate character." The meaning of Sylla was, that, under that appearance of effeminacy, Cæsar concealed an ambitious and factious spirit.

The military habit, called chlamys, was open, and thrown over the tunic. They fastened it with a clasp upon the right shoulder, to leave the arm at liberty. It was a kind of purple mantle, and generals only had a right to wear it. The habit called sagum, was common both to officers and soldiers. This was a Gallic habit, a sort of campaign-coat, the use of which the Romans had derived from the Gauls.

(959) The Romans generally wore their hair short, and dressed it with great care. The custom of shaving the beard began, according to Pliny, about four hundred and fifty four years after the building of the city. Men of literature, however, took great care of the beard, as a mark of superior wisdom. It contributed to compose that serious and severe air, which the philosophers affected. Lucian rallies them for endeavouring to surpass each other in length of beard. He speaks of a learned man, who, aspiring to a chair in philosophy, was looked upon as incapable to fill it, because his beard was too short.

In the time of Julius Cæsar no contrivance appears to have been known at Rome, to supply the want of hair. But soon after that period, a kind of periwig was used; and the false hair was fixed on a skin.

The Roman shoe covered the whole foot, and was tied with a ribband or lace. The sandals or slippers covered only the sole of the foot, and were fastened with leathern thongs. Senators, patricians, and even their children wore, by way of distinction, between the ancle and the instep of each foot, a crescent of gold, silver, or ivory, which served for buckles. This

crescent, resembling the letter C, denoted the number one hundred, of which the senate originally consisted. Heliogabalus adorned his shoes with precious stones, engraved by the greatest masters; as if the workmanship of skilful artists, which requires to be viewed very near, could be admired upon his feet. Plautus, in one of his comedies, makes a servant answer his master, who had asked him whether Theotimus was rich: "Do you ask me whether a man be rich, when he wears golden soles to his shoes?"

CHAPTER III.

Of the Roman Ladies—Ornaments of Cornelia—Artificial Teeth—Various Dresses.

WHILE the Romans led a frugal and laborious life, their wives loved work, and imitated their example. "They took care," says Columella, "of the domestic affairs. The husbands, after having performed their part, free from all care, entered their houses, and enjoyed perfect repose. Union, concord, and industry, reigned in each dwelling, supported by mutual and reciprocal affection. The woman, who shone most by her beauty, depended for distinction only on her economy, and attention to assist in crowning her husband's diligence with prosperity."

(960) Ladies, even of the first rank, preferred their duty to pleasure, and solid virtue to the vain glitter of dress. Such was Cornelia, daughter of the great Scipio, and mother of the Gracchi. After her husband's death, having the sole charge of the education of her family, she applied to it with so much care, that her children, though born with the happiest talents and best dispositions, were thought to owe still more to education than to nature. The answer which she gave to a lady of Campania is highly celebrated. That

lady, on a visit with her, displayed, with great pomp, a long detail of all the rich and fashionable trinkets she possessed; as gold, silver, diamonds, bracelets, necklaces, pearls, and ear-rings. She expected to find Cornelia possessed of much more, and earnestly requested to see her toilette. (961) Cornelia artfully diverted the conversation till the return of her children from the public schools; and when they were come, "See," says she, presenting them to the lady, "see here my ornaments, and my jewels."

But the taste for luxury having stifled, at Rome, the ancient industry and simplicity of manners, the women refined upon all those ornaments, of which their ancestors were ignorant. Seneca says, that there were many who made a serious occupation of dressing their hair, who consumed several hours at their toilette, who held a council about each particular lock, and grew outrageous on the subject of one disordered hair, a curl ill placed or inelegantly formed. Sometimes they gave their hair the from of a helmet, or the figure of a buckler. In order to set off, and render it more brilliant, they dyed it of a light colour, and covered it with gold dust.

(962) We learn from Martial, that some of the Roman ladies had artificial teeth. In one of his epigrams, he advises Maximinia never to laugh. "Thou hast only three teeth," says he, "and these are of box, varnished over. Thou shouldst fear to laugh. Weep always if thou art wise." The same poet says to Lælia, "If thou art not ashamed to make use of borrowed hair, yet still thou wilt be embarrassed; what wilt thou do for an eye? There are none of them to be bought." Art had not yet reached this sort of supplement, though it went so far as to repair the features. That of drawing a fine eye-brow, and painting it, was very common! Those who had hollowed eyes found means to raise them. They made use of a black powder, which they burnt.

In their different dresses, the ladies made choice of such colours, as they thought became them best. It was a precept given them by Ovid,

(963) "Try every one, what best becomes you, wear;
For no complexion all alike can bear.
If fair the skin, black may become it best,
In black the lovely fair Briseis dress'd.
If brown the nymph, let her be clothed in white,
Andromeda so charm'd the wond'ring sight."

The shoes of females were commonly white. Under the emperors, they began to wear red ones. Aurelian permitted the use of them to the ladies, and at the same time took it from the gentlemen.

CHAPTER IV.

Roman Entertainments—Supper—Dinner—Breakfast—Luxurious Table of Lucullus—Gluttony of Vitellius—Expensive Living and Fate of Apicius—Roman Dishes.

AMONG the ancient Romans, it was not the house that did honour to the master, but the master to the house. Magnificent in public works and edifices, and declared enemies of private luxury, they contented themselves with moderate houses, which they adorned with the spoils of the enemy, and not with those of the citizens. "Among them," says Seneca, "a cottage became as noble as a temple, because inhabited by justice, generosity, probity, and honour."

(964) If we go back to the first ages of Rome, we shall find that the Romans lived chiefly on pottage, vegetables, and milk. They ate flesh only on extraordinary occasions. "Then were seen illustrious old men covered with glory and with laurel, sitting by their firesides, and making their repasts of the roots which they had cultivated, and gathered in their garden. Ignorant of the art of ordering a feast, they possessed that of conquering their enemies in war, and of governing the people in peace."

(965) The usual time for supper, the principal meal of the Romans, was the ninth hour, or, according to our division of the day, three o'clock in the afternoon. At first they sat at meals, as did also the Greeks. Homer's heroes had separate seats round the walls, with tables before them. The custom of reclining on couches or settees, was introduced from the eastern nations. On each couch there were commonly three persons. The feet of the first were behind the back of the second, as his were behind the back of the third, with a pillow between each. The head of the second was opposite to the breast of the first; so that if he wanted to speak to him in a low voice, he was obliged to lean upon his bosom. Thus the beloved disciple reclined on the breast of his great Master, the Redeemer of mankind.

Accustomed as we are to measure every thing by the standard of our own manners, we are surprised at this posture. But every nation has different customs. "The Turks," says an ingenious writer, "sit on the ground at their meals. The Japanese kneel. At our feasts one table serves many. Among the Chinese each person has a separate one. We will have our meat roasted or boiled. The Tartars eat theirs raw, finding it otherwise tasteless and hard of digestion. When we regale our friends, we take our place at table, inviting them to eat heartily by our example. In Canada he who gives the feast eats nothing, but amuses himself with singing, and smoaking, or entertaining the company; and in China he even absents himself in observance of good manners. At the solemn coronation feasts of the kings of France, the great lords served on horseback*."

Though supper was the chief meal, yet people of all ranks, among the Romans took an early breakfast; and though their dinner about noon was slight, they made up for it in the evening with their friends†. Many too had an afternoon's repast.

* M. de St. Aubin. † Plutarch.

After the introduction of riches by commerce, the pleasures of the table became the chief object of attention. (966) We may judge of the extraordinary luxury of the Romans, in Cicero's time, from what Plutarch relates in the life of Lucullus, whose table was served in a very splendid and expensive manner. Cicero and Pompey concerted between them to take him unprovided; and meeting him in the forum they invited themselves to supper. Lucullus requested them to put off the visit to another day. They would not, however, be refused, but went home with him, and gave him no opportunity of ordering his servants, except in their presence. He commanded the steward of his household to cover the table in the hall of Apollo. The supper was served with a readiness and magnificence that surprised them; for when his servants were informed in what room an entertainment was to be given, they knew perfectly the order, quantity, and quality of the courses, which were regulated for every apartment. The expense of a banquet in the Apollo was one thousand six hundred pounds.

Even when he was alone, Lucullus would have a luxurious table. His steward, who had one day prepared a supper less sumptuous than he wished, pleaded for his excuse, that he did not know there was to be any company. "What!" replied he in a passion, "did you not know that Lucullus was to sup with Lucullus?"

(967) "Though the emperor Vitellius divided his favours," says Dion, "and breakfasted with one, dined with another, and taxed a new host with giving him a supper, no meal could be served up to him that did not cost two thousand pounds. No respect, either for time or place, prevented him from eating. He thought every occasion a good one. In the sacrifices, he took almost from off the coals the flesh of the victims, and the sacred cakes. If, in the street, he saw exposed to sale the remains of victuals dressed the night before, he seized them, and ate as he walked. He thought himself emperor only that he might eat." He reigned

but eight months; for had his reign been long, says Josephus, "all the wealth of the empire would not have sufficed for the maintenance of his table."

(968) Apicius wasted on luxurious living £484,375. Being at last obliged to examine the state of his affairs, he found that his remaining property was only £80,729, a sum which he thought too small to live upon, and therefore ended his days by poison. Caligula laid out £80,000 on a supper; and many of the feasts of the effeminate Heliogabalus cost £24,000. Even persons of a more sober character were sometimes very expensive. Cicero had a citron-table, which cost him eight thousand pounds; and he bought the house of Crassus, with borrowed money, for £24,218.

(969) The Romans began their entertainments with eggs and asparagus, and finished with fruit; hence the proverbial expression, *Ab ovo usque ad mala*, from the beginning to the end of supper. We learn from a common saying of Augustus, that, like ourselves, they did not boil their asparagus much. When that emperor wanted to have an affair quickly dispatched, he said, "You must take no more time about it than would boil asparagus*."

(970) Peacocks, guinea-hens, cranes, thrushes, nightingales, ducks, and geese, were favourite dishes of the Romans. Sometimes a whole wild boar was served up, stuffed with game and poultry. They called this dish the Trojan boar, in allusion to the Trojan horse. This comparison appears the more just, as the dainties concealed in the belly of that animal were so many fatal enemies to the human constitution, *Plus gula quam gladius*, says the Latin proverb: "Gluttony is more destructive than the sword."

The Romans were remarkably fond of fish, particularly of shell-fish. They were so partial to oysters, that they brought them to Rome from Richborough in Kent†. The oysters of the Lucrine lake are celebrated by Horace; but some preferred those of Brundusium.

* Asparago citius. † Juvenal.

Any uncommon dish, such as a fine large fish, or some rare bird, was introduced to the sound of flutes and hautboys, and received with claps and acclamations, while the servants were crowned with flowers. Macrobius informs us, that the emperor Severus was complimented in a letter, upon the honours which he had paid to a sturgeon.

The ordinary drink of the Romans at feasts was wine, which they mixed with water, and sometimes with aromatics and spices. The wine of Falernum was most valued. It was rough and strong, and not drinkable, till it had been kept at least ten years. In order to soften it, they mixed it with honey, or with China wine.

CHAPTER V.

Roman Games—The Circus—Horse Races—Gladiators—Hunting of Wild Beasts.

(971) GAMES, among the ancient Romans, constituted a part of religious worship. They were of different kinds at different periods of the republic. The most famous games were celebrated in the Circus Maximus, built by Tarquinius Priscus, and magnificently adorned in succeeding ages. It lay between the Palatine and Aventine hills, and was a mile in circumference, of an oblong form, with rows of seats all around rising one above another, where separate places were allotted to each curia, and also to the senators and equites. It is said to have contained two hundred and fifty thousand persons. It was surrounded with a ditch or canal, ten feet broad and as many deep; and the porticos were three stories high. At certain distances there were proper places for the people to go in and out without disturbance; and at one end were several openings, from which the horses and the chariots started. In order to prevent the

horses from running off, before the signal was given by the magistrates, there was a white line held by two small statues of Mercury. This line also seems to have been used, to mark the end of the course, or limit of victory; to which Horace beautifully alludes, when he says, *Mors est ultima linea rerum:* "Death is the last line of all things."

(972) As this grand circus was dedicated to the sun, it was the custom, when races were run in honour of him, that the chariots should be drawn by four horses abreast; and when in honour of the moon, only by two. (973) Every chariot used in racing had commonly two wheels. The swiftness of the horses alone was not sufficient to obtain the prize, if it was not seconded by the address of the driver. For it was necessary to run seven times round those boundaries, and to take great care in turning not to come too near them, lest the chariot should be dashed in pieces against them. At the same time, in keeping too far from them, they ran the risk of being cut out by a competitor, who knew how to take the advantage of that interval. The drivers of these chariots were generally slaves; yet sometimes persons of the highest quality drove them, to please those emperors who were fond of races. The charioteers were divided into five bands, distinguished by the colour of their habits, as white, red, blue, green, and purple.

"Some view with a delighted eye
"Thick clouds of dust around them fly;
"While their contending chariots roll,
"And nicely shun the Olympic goal:
"Where races run, and palms bestow'd,
"Exalt a monarch to a god *."

The victor being proclaimed by the voice of a herald was honoured with a palm-crown, and received a prize in money of considerable value. The palm-tree was

* Sunt quos curriculo pulverem Olympicum
Collegisse juvat: metaque fervidis
Evitata rotis, palmaque nobilis
Terrarum dominos evehit ad deos. HORACE.

chosen for this purpose, because it rises against a weight placed on it, and is therefore a very fit emblem of victory.

(974) Running, leaping, boxing, wrestling, and throwing the discus or quoit, were likewise exercises of the circus. In the foot races, there were persons who ran completely armed, as if going to battle, in order to show their strength and agility.

Among the horse races, there were some of a singular kind. These were horsemen, who rode horses without saddles, leading one in their hand, upon which they leaped as they ran, and often changed horses in the race, after the manner of the Numidians.

(975) The combats of gladiators were exhibited in honour of the deceased, to appease their manes. They were kept and maintained in schools by persons called lanistæ, who purchased and trained them. When they were exercised, they fought with wooden swords. If any of the great men of Rome wished to have gladiatorial shows, they applied to these masters. The principal persons of the commonwealth had gladiators of their own, whom they used when they gave games to the people. Julius Cæsar had a considerable number, before he was emperor.

The hunting of wild beasts was a favourite amusement of the idle multitude, who resorted to the circus. These furious animals not only fought with each other, but also with men sentenced to this barbarous punishment, as the primitive Christians often were. Many fought voluntarily, either for hire, or from a natural ferocity of disposition. An incredible number of animals of various kinds was brought from all quarters, at an immense expense, for the entertainment of the people. Pompey, in his second consulship, exhibited at once five hundred lions, which were all despatched in five days. At the same time he sported eighteen elephants.

(976) The piety of the Christian princes suppressed the inhuman combats of gladiators. But long after the introduction of Christianity, the Roman people still

considered the circus as their home, their temple, and the seat of the republic. The impatient crowd rushed at the dawn of day to secure their places, and there were many who passed an anxious and sleepless night in the adjacent porticos. From the morning to the evening, careless of the sun, or of the rain, the spectators, who sometimes amounted to the number of near three hundred thousand, remained in eager attention; their eyes fixed on the horses and charioteers, their minds agitated with hope and fear for the success of the colours which they espoused; and the happiness of Rome appeared to hang on the event of a race*.

CHAPTER VI.

Dramatic Entertainments—Comedy—Tragedy—Pantomimes—The Sock—The Buskin.

(977) DRAMATIC entertainments, or stage plays, were introduced at Rome, about four hundred years after the building of the city. They were called Ludi Scenici†, because they were first acted in a shade, formed by the branches and leaves of trees. Hence, the front of the theatre where the actors stood, was afterwards called scena.

When this amusement was converted into an art, the Roman youth left regular plays to be acted by professed players, but reserved to themselves the acting of ludicrous pieces or farces, which were usually introduced after the play, when the performers and musicians had left the stage. The actors of these farces retained the rights of citizens, and might serve in the army, and other great offices of state. This was not the case with common actors, who were not respected among the Romans.

* Juvenal. † From skia, umbra.

The entertainments of the theatre, in their improved state, were chiefly of three kinds, Comedy, Tragedy, and Pantomimes.

(978) Comedy is a representation of common life, written in a familiar style. The Roman comic writers, Nævius, Afranius, Plautus, Cæcilius, and Terence, copied from the Greek, and chiefly from Menander, who is esteemed the best writer of comedies that ever existed. Of his works a few fragments only now remain; but we may judge of his excellence from Terence, his principal imitator.

The actors of comedy wore a low-heeled shoe, called soccus, the sock.

(979) Tragedy is the representation of a serious and important action, in which heroes, kings, and other illustrious persons are introduced. It is written in an elevated style. The great end of tragedy is to excite the passions, to inspire the love of virtue, and abhorrence of vice. It had its name, according to Horace, from two Greek words, which signify a goat and a song*; because a goat was the prize of the person who produced the best poem, or was the best actor.

Thespis, a native of Attica, is said to have been the inventor of tragedy, five hundred and thirty-six years before Christ. He went about with his actors from one village to another in a cart, on which a temporary stage was erected, where they played and sung, having their faces besmeared with the lees of wine. He was contemporary with Solon, who was a great enemy to his dramatic representations.

He was succeeded by Æschylus, who erected a permanent stage, and was the inventor of the mask, the long flowing robe, and the high-heeled shoe or buskin, which tragedians wore. Hence this kind of shoe, called by the Romans cothurnus, is put for a tragic style, or for tragedy itself, as soccus, the sock, is put for comedy, or the familiar style.

After Æschylus, followed Sophocles and Euripides, who brought tragedy to the highest perfection. In

* Tragos and odé.

their time, comedy began to be considered as a distinct composition from tragedy. At Rome, however, comedy was long cultivated, before any attempt was made to compose tragedies. Nor have we any Roman tragedies extant, except a few, which bear the name of Seneca.

(980) Pantomimes are representations by dumb-show, in which the actors express every thing by dancing and gestures without speaking. They are said to have been the invention of Augustus. The most celebrated, in this species of entertainment, during the reign of that prince, were Pylades and Bathyllus, between whom there was a constant emulation. Pylades being once reproved by Augustus on this account, replied, "It is expedient for you, sire, that the attention of the public should be engaged about us." He was so great a favourite, that although the opposite party had produced his banishment, he was soon after recalled. The factions of the different players, sometimes carried their discords to such a height, that they terminated in bloodshed.

The plays were often interrupted, likewise, by the people calling out for various shows to be exhibited; as the representation of battles, triumphal processions, gladiators, uncommon animals, and wild beasts. The noise, which they made on these occasions, is compared by Horace to the raging of the sea*.

(981) The tragic and comic Muses of the Romans, who seldom aspired beyond the imitation of Attic genius, were almost silent, after the fall of the republic; and their place was unworthily occupied by licentious farce, effeminate music, and splendid pageantry. The pantomimical performers, who maintained their reputation from the age of Augustus to the sixth century, represented only the various fables of the gods and heroes of antiquity; and the perfection of their art, which sometimes disarmed the gravity of the philosopher, always excited the applause of the people. The vast and magnificent theatres of Rome were filled by

* Epist. II.

three thousand female dancers, and by three thousand singers, with the masters of the respective chorusses. Such was the popular favour they enjoyed, that, in a time of scarcity, when all strangers were banished from the city, the merit of contributing to the public pleasures exempted them from a law, which was strictly executed against the professors of the liberal arts.

CHAPTER VII.

Rites of Marriage—Polygamy forbidden—The Wedding-Day—Divorce.

(982) EXPERIENCE has proved, that savages are tyrants of the female sex; but the condition of women is usually softened by the refinements of social life. According to the custom of antiquity, the Roman lover bought his bride of her parents, and she fulfilled her coemption, by purchasing, with three pieces of copper, a just introduction to his house and household deities. The man asked the woman, if she was willing to be the mistress of his family? The lady answered, "I have no objection." The man made the same reply to a similar question of the woman, who resigned to him all her goods, and acknowledged him as her lord and master. In the early ages of the republic, the fortune of a lady was very small. The senate gave to the daughter of Scipio only eleven thousand asses of brass, equivalent to thirty-six pounds of our money. Megullia was surnamed Dodtata, or the great fortune, because she had one hundred and sixty pounds. But, upon the increase of wealth, the marriage-portions became greater. The usual portion of a lady of senatorian rank was eight thousand pounds. But many had ten times that sum. Sometimes the wife reserved to herself part of the dowry, and a slave, who was not subject to the power of her husband.

There was, however, a more solemn kind of marriage among the Romans. A sacrifice of fruits was offered by the pontiffs in the presence of ten witnesses; the contracting parties were seated on the same sheepskin; they tasted a salt cake of far or rice; and thus confarreation, which denoted the ancient food of Italy, served as an emblem of their mystic union in the matrimonial state. But this union, on the side of the woman, was rigorous and unequal; and she renounced the name and worship of her father's house, to embrace a new servitude decorated only by the title of adoption. A fiction of the law, neither rational nor elegant, bestowed on the mother of a family, the strange characters of sister to her own children, and of daughter to her husband or master, who was invested with the plenitude of paternal power. By his judgment or caprice, her behaviour was approved, censured, or chastised.

After the Punic triumphs, the matrons of Rome aspired to the common benefits of a free and opulent republic. Their wishes were gratified by the indulgence of fathers and lovers, and their ambition was unsuccessfully resisted by the gravity of Cato, the censor. They declined the solemnities of the old nuptials; but, without losing their name or independence, subscribed to the liberal and definite terms of a marriage-contract. Of their private fortunes, they allowed to their husbands the use, and secured to themselves the property. The estates of a wife could neither be alienated nor mortgaged by a prodigal husband.

(903) Polygamy, or a plurality of wives, was forbidden among the Romans, who justly imagined that divided affection must be productive of jealousy and domestic discord.

Before the celebration of the nuptials, there was a meeting of friends at the house of the lady's father, to settle the articles of the marriage-contract, when it was agreed that the dowry should be paid down on the wedding-day, or soon after. On this occasion there was commonly a feast, at the conclusion of which, the man gave the woman a ring, as a pledge, which she

put on the fourth finger of her left hand; because it was believed that a nerve reached from thence to the heart; and a day was then fixed for the marriage. Certain days were reckoned unfortunate, particularly the whole month of May, and those days which were marked in the calendar with black. But widows might marry on those days.

(984) On the wedding-day, the bride was dressed in a long white robe, bordered with a purple fringe, or embroidered ribbon, and bound with a girdle made of wool, tied in a knot, which the husband untied. Her face was covered with a red or flame-coloured veil, to denote her modesty; and her shoes were of the same colour. Her hair was divided into six locks with the point of a spear, and crowned with flowers.

No marriage was celebrated without consulting the auspices, and offering sacrifices to the gods, especially to Juno, the goddess of marriage. The gall of the victim was always taken out, and thrown away, to signify the removal of all bitterness from the new state, into which the parties were to enter. The marriage-ceremony was performed at the house of the bride's father, or nearest relation. In the evening the bride was conducted to her husband's house, when she was taken apparently by force from the arms of her mother. Three boys, whose parents were alive, attended her; while two of them supported her, the third carried the nuptial torches. Maid-servants followed with a distaff, a spindle, and wool; intimating, that she was to employ herself in spinning, as the Roman matrons did of old, and as some of the most illustrious in latter times have done. Augustus is said to have seldom worn any thing, for his domestic apparel, but the manufacture of his wife, sister, daughter, and nieces.

The door of the bridegroom's house was adorned with leaves and flowers, and the rooms with tapestry. When the bride came thither, being asked who she was, she answered, "Caia." A new-married woman was called by this name, from Caia Cæcilia, or Tanaquil the wife of Tarquinius Priscus, an excellent

spinster and housewife, whose distaff and spindle were kept in the temple of Hercules. Upon her entry, the keys of the house were delivered to her, to denote her being entrusted with the management of her family. Musicians attended, who sung the nuptial song. They often repeated, *To Hymen Hymenæe et Thalassio*, from Hymen the god of Marriage among the Greeks, and Thalassus, among the Romans, or from one Thalassius, who lived in great happiness with his wife, as if to wish the new-married couple the like felicity. These words used also to be resounded by the attendants of the bride, on the way to her husband's house.

After supper, the bride was conducted to her bed-chamber by matrons who had been married only to one husband, when the bridegroom scattered nuts among the boys, intimating, that he was now to drop boyish amusements, to leave trifles, to mind serious business, and to act as a man. The guests were then dismissed with small presents.

The freedom of love and marriage was restrained among the Romans by natural and civil impediments. Their lawgivers were never tempted by interest or superstition to multiply the forbidden degrees; but they inflexibly condemned the marriage of sisters and brothers, and hesitated whether first cousins should be allowed to intermarry. They revered the parental character of aunts and uncles, and treated affinity and adoption as a just imitation of the ties of blood. According to the proud maxims of the republic, a legal marriage could only be contracted by free citizens. An honourable, at least an acknowledged birth, was required for the spouse of a senator. But the blood of a foreigner, even of kings, could never mingle, in legitimate nuptials, with the blood of a Roman. The name of stranger degraded Cleopatra and Berenice, to live the concubines of Mark Antony and Titus.

(985) The causes of the dissolution of matrimony varied among the Romans, but the most solemn sacrament, the confarreation itself, might always be done away by rites of a contrary tendency. In the first

ages, the father of a family might sell his child; and his wife was reckoned in the number of his children. The domestic judge might pronounce the death of his wife, or his mercy might expel her from his bed and house; but the slavery of the wretched female was hopeless and perpetual, unless he asserted, for his own convenience, the prerogative of divorce. The warmest applause has been lavished on the virtue of the Romans, who abstained from the exercise of this cruel privilege above five hundred years. But the same fact evinces the unequal terms of a connection, in which the slave was unable to resist her tyrant, and the tyrant was unwilling to relinquish his slave. When the Roman matrons became the equal and voluntary companions of their lords, marriage, like other partnerships, might be dissolved by the abdication of one of the associates. In three centuries of prosperity and corruption, this principle was enlarged by frequent practice, to the most pernicious abuse. Passion, interest, or caprice, suggested daily motives for the dissolution of marriage. A word, a sign, a message, a letter, the mandate of a freedman, declared the separation. The most tender of human connections was degraded to a transient union for profit or pleasure. According to the various conditions of life, both sexes alternately felt the disgrace and injury. An inconstant wife transferred her wealth to a new family, abandoning a numerous progeny to the paternal authority and care of her late husband.

Insufficient remedies followed with distant and tardy steps the rapid progress of this evil. The ancient worship of the Romans afforded a peculiar goddess to hear and reconcile the complaints of a marriage life; but her epithet of *Viriplaca*, "the appeaser of husbands," too clearly indicates on which side submission and repentance were required. Whenever an action was instituted for the recovery of a marriage-portion, the prætor, as the guardian of equity, examined the characters, and gently inclined the scale in favour of the injured party. Augustus, who united the powers

both of censor and prætor, adopted their different modes of repressing or chastising the licence of divorce. The presence of seven Roman witnesses was required for the validity of this solemn and deliberate act. If any adequate provocation had been given by the husband, he was compelled to refund immediately, or in the space of six months. But if he could arraign the conduct of his wife, her guilt or levity was expiated by the loss of the sixth part of her marriage-portion.

The pretexts for separation were sometimes very frivolous. When Cæsar divorced Pompeia, the niece of Sylla, because Clodius had got admission to his house in the garb of a music girl, at the celebration of the sacred rites of the *Bona Dea*, he declared, that he did not believe any thing that was said against her, but that he could not live with a wife who had once been suspected.

(986) The dignity of marriage was best understood and supported, when Christianity became the religion of the empire. The origin, validity, and duties of the holy institution, were regulated by the precepts of the gospel, and the canons of general or provincial synods. The consciences of the Christians were awed by the threatenings of divine revelation, or the decrees and censures of their ecclesiastical rulers.

CHAPTER VIII.

Roman Funerals — The last Kiss — Manner of Embalming — Funeral Procession and Oration — Mummies — Burning and Interment of Dead Bodies — Urns — Tombs — Catacombs — Colours of Mourning Habits.

(987) THE Romans paid the greatest attention to funeral rites, because they believed that the souls of the unburied were not admitted into the abodes of the dead; or at least wandered one hundred years along the river Styx, before they were allowed to cross it. For this reason, if the bodies of their friends could not be found, they erected to them an empty tomb; and if they happened to see a dead body, they always threw some earth upon it. Whoever neglected to do this was obliged to expiate his crime, by sacrificing a hog to Ceres. Hence no kind of death was so much dreaded as shipwreck.

(988) When a person was at the point of death, the nearest relation gave the parting kiss, and endeavoured to catch the last breath, as if to receive the soul or living principle, which they believed then came out at the mouth. That the face of the deceased might appear less ghastly, the mouth and eyes were shut; but the latter were afterwards opened on the funeral pile, in order that they might seem to look up to heaven. They called him often by his name with a loud voice, to know whether he was really dead, or had only fainted.

(989) The corpse was then bathed with warm water, and anointed with perfumes, by slaves belonging to the undertakers, or *Libitinarii*, who had the charge of the temple of *Venus Libitina*, where every article necessary for funerals might be purchased. They must

have been better acquainted with the manner of embalming even than the Egyptians, if we may believe the accounts of some tombs discovered at Rome about two hundred and fifty years ago, in which bodies were found so well preserved, that they might have been taken for persons asleep. It is conjectured that myrrh, aloes, and turpentine, formed the mixture for preserving the body from putrefaction.

The person thus embalmed was dressed in the common white habit, or toga. But if he had passed through the great offices of the commonwealth, the robe of the highest dignity he had possessed was put on him, and he was kept in that manner seven days, during which time all that was necessary for the pomp of his funeral was prepared. The body was exposed in the porch, or at the entrance of his house, in a bed of state, with the feet towards the door, where a cypress was placed for the rich, while others had only branches of pine.

> " Then trumpets, torches, and a tedious crew
> " Of hireling mourners for his funeral due.
> " Our dear departed brother lies in state,
> " His clay-cold heels stretch'd out before the gate*."

When the seven days were expired, a public herald proclaimed the funeral as follows:—" This is to give notice to all, who desire to be present at the interment of such a person, that they go to it immediately; for they are now bringing the corpse out of the house."

The Romans at first interred their dead, which is the most ancient, as well as natural method. They adopted from the Greeks, at an early period, the custom of burning, which is mentioned in the laws of Numa, and of the twelve tables; but it did not become general until the end of the republic approached. Sylla was the first patrician that was burnt, which he is supposed to have ordered, lest any one should dig up his body, and scatter his remains, as he did those of

* Dryden's Persius.

Marius. Pliny ascribes the first institution of burning among the Romans, to their having discovered that the bodies of those who fell in the distant wars were dug up by the enemy. Under the emperors, it became almost universal, but was gradually dropt on the introduction of Christianity.

(990) The order of the funeral procession was regulated by an undertaker, or master of the ceremonies, attended by lictors dressed in black. Musicians of various kinds, as pipers, trumpeters, &c. went first. Then followed the mourning women, hired to sing the funeral song, or the praises of the deceased, to the sound of the flute. Boys and girls also were sometimes employed for this purpose. Next came players and buffoons, who danced and sung, and often introduced excellent sayings from dramatic writers. One of them, called Archimimus, or the chief mimic, supported the character of the deceased, by imitating his words and actions*. The freed-men brought up the rear. Some masters at their death gave liberty to all their slaves, that their funeral procession might be attended by a numerous train of freed-men.

If the deceased had distinguished himself in war, the crowns and rewards, which he had received for his valour, were displayed, as well as the spoils and standards he had taken from the enemy. At the funerals of renowned generals, were carried images or representations of the countries they had subdued, and the cities they had taken †. When Sylla was buried, above two thousand crowns are said to have been exhibited, which had been sent him by different cities on account of his victories.

Behind the corpse walked the friends of the deceased in mourning. The heads of the sons were veiled, and those of the daughters bare, with their hair dishevelled. The nearest relations sometimes tore their garments, and covered their hair with dust. The women in particular wept aloud, beat their breasts, and expressed their grief in the most affecting manner.

* Suetonius. † Tacitus.

At the funeral of an illustrious citizen, the corpse was carried through the forum, where the procession stopped, and a funeral oration was delivered in praise of the deceased by a relation or friend, and sometimes by a magistrate, according to the appointment of the senate.

The honour of a funeral oration was also decreed by the senate to women, for their readiness in resigning their golden ornaments to make up the sum agreed to be paid to the Gauls, as a ransom for leaving the city. Plutarch says, that Cæsar introduced the custom of praising younger matrons, upon the death of his wife Cornelia. But after that, both young and old, married and unmarried, were honoured with a funeral oration.

While the oration was delivering, the corpse was placed before the rostrum. That of Cæsar was placed in a gilt pavilion like a small temple, with the robe in which he had been slain suspended on a pole or trophy, and his image exposed on a moveable machine, with the marks of all the wounds he had received; for the body itself was not seen.

From the forum the corpse was carried to the place of burning or burial, which the law of the twelve tables ordered to be without the city, according to the custom of the Jews, Greeks, and other nations.

The ancients are said to have buried their dead at their own houses*. Hence the worship of household gods, and the fear of spectres in the dark. Souls separated from the body were called lemures or manes; if beneficial, lares; if hurtful, larvæ or maniæ†. Augustus, in his speech to his soldiers, before the battle of Actium, says, that (991) the Egyptians embalmed their dead bodies, to establish an opinion of their immortality. Several of these still remain, called mummies, from mum, the Egyptian name of wax.

The Romans prohibited burning or burying in the city, both from sacred and civil considerations; that

* Isidorus.

† Agathoi kai kakoi daimones. Good and evil spirits.

the priests might not be contaminated by seeing or touching a dead body, and that houses might not be endangered by the frequency of funeral fires, nor the air infected by putrid effluvia. The priest of Jupiter was not allowed to touch a dead body, nor to go where there was a grave; and when the pontifex maximus delivered a funeral oration, a veil was laid over the corpse, to keep it from his sight.

Great men were usually buried in the Campus Martius, and poor people without the Esquiline-gate. There were in the corners of the common burying ground stone pillars, on which were marked the names of those who were buried in it.

They have also private places for burial in fields or gardens, near the highway, to be conspicuous, and to remind those who passed of mortality. Hence the frequent inscriptions, *Siste viator*, "Stop traveller," *Aspice viator*, "Look traveller," on the Appian, Aurelian, and Flaminian roads.

(992) The funeral pile was built in the form of an altar, with four equal sides, of wood which easily took fire, and at the distance of sixty feet from any house. When the corpse was placed on the pile, the nearest relations, after setting fire to it with a lighted torch, threw upon it incense, myrrh, and cassia, with the clothes and ornaments of the deceased, and whatever was supposed to be agreeable to him when he was alive. If he had been a soldier, they threw on the pile his arms and spoils.

At the funeral of an illustrious commander or emperor, the soldiers made a circuit three times round the pile, from right to left, with their arms inverted, striking their weapons on each other to the sound of the trumpet.

Instances are recorded of persons, who came to life again on the funeral pile, after it was set on fire, so that they could not be preserved; and of others, who, having revived before the pile was kindled, returned home on their feet.

Though the Jews interred their dead, they filled the

couch on which the corpse was laid with sweet odours, and various spices, and burnt them. "They buried king Asa in his own sepulchre, which he had made for himself in the city of David, and laid him in the bed which was filled with odours, and divers kinds of spices, prepared by the apothecary's art; and they made a very great burning for him*."

(998) When the pile was burnt down, and the fire extinguished, the bones and ashes, after being soaked with wine, and sprinkled with the richest perfumes, were put into an urn, made of earth, brass, marble, silver, or gold, and solemnly deposited in a tomb. Sometimes also a small glass vial full of tears, called by the moderns a lachrymatory, was put into the urn.

When the body was not burnt, it was put, with all its ornaments, into a coffin usually made of stone, and sometimes of stone from Assos, a town in Troas, called sarcophagus, which consumed the body in forty days.

When the remains of the deceased were laid on the tomb, those who attended the funeral, at their departure used to take a last farewell, and wish that the earth might lie light on the person buried; which is found marked on several ancient monuments in these letters, S. T. T. L. *Sit tibi terra levis*: "May the earth be light upon you." The sepulchre was then sprinkled with flowers, and covered with crowns and fillets. Before it was a little altar, on which libations were made, and incense was burnt.

"In peace ye shades of our great grandsires rest,
"No heavy earth your sacred bones molest;
"Eternal spring and rising flowers adorn
"The relics of each venerable urn,
"Who pious rev'rence to their tutors paid,
"As parents honour'd, and as gods obey'd†."

A keeper was appointed to watch the tomb, which was frequently illuminated with lamps. Perpetual lamps are said by several authors to have been found in ancient tombs still burning, which, however, went

* 2 Chron. xvi. 14. † Dryden's Juvenal.

out on the admission of air. But this by others is reckoned a fiction.

The ceremony of a funeral concluded with a feast, which was usually a supper given to the friends and relations of the deceased; and sometimes provisions were distributed to the people. When great men were buried, there were shows of gladiators and games, which, in some instances, were celebrated on the anniversary of the funeral. Faustus, the son of Sylla, exhibited a show of gladiators in honour of his father, several years after his death, and gave a feast to the people, according to the testament.

(994) The tombs of the rich were commonly built of marble, and the ground inclosed with a wall or an iron rail was planted round with trees. (995) Many of the sepulchres built under ground, and called Hypogæa, still exist in different parts of Italy, under the name of catacombs. The niches cut out in the walls, in which the urns were placed, from their resemblance to the niches in a pigeon-house, were named Columbaria. They were adorned with various figures in sculpture, which are still to be seen.

(996) Black or brown was the colour of the mourning habits worn both by men and women. In the reign of Augustus, the ladies wore white veils, and the rest of their dress was black; but from the time of the emperor Domitian, they wore nothing but white habits, without any ornaments of gold, pearls, or other jewels. The signs of mourning among the men also were to let their hair and beards grow, and to wear no wreaths of flowers upon their heads, as long as it continued. The longest period was only for ten months, during which a widow could not marry again, without being reckoned infamous. The Romans did not wear mourning for children, when they died under the age of three; and for those between that age and ten, they mourned as many months as they were years old.

CHAPTER IX.

Roman Jurisprudence — The Twelve Tables — Forms of the Roman Law—Reformation of it by Justinian—The Code, Pandects, and Institutes—Right of Property —Of Testaments— Promises—Injuries—Punishments—Insolvent Debtors.

(997) THE laws of a nation form a very instructive portion of its history. The primitive government of Rome was composed, with some political skill, of an elective king, a council of nobles, and a general assembly of the people. War and religion were regulated by the supreme magistrate. He alone proposed the laws, which were debated in the senate, and finally ratified or rejected by a majority of votes in the thirty curiæ or parishes of the city. Romulus, Numa, and Servius Tullius, are celebrated as the most ancient legislators; and each of them claims his peculiar part in the three-fold division of jurisprudence. The laws concerning the authority of parents, and the education of children, which ought to derive their origin from nature, are ascribed to the untutored wisdom of Romulus. The law of nations and of religious worship, introduced by Numa, was derived from his nocturnal converse with the nymph Egeria. The civil law is attributed to the experience of Servius, who balanced the rights and fortunes of the seven classes of citizens; and guarded by fifty new regulations the observance of contracts and the punishment of crimes. The state, which he had inclined towards the democracy, was changed by the last Tarquin into lawless despotism; and when the kingly office was abolished, the patricians engrossed the benefits of freedom. The royal laws became odious or obsolete; the mysterious deposit was silently

preserved by the priests and nobles; and at the end of sixty years the citizens of Rome still complained, that they were ruled by the arbitrary sentence of the magistrates. Yet the positive institutions of the kings had blended themselves with the public and private manners of the city, and some fragments of that venerable jurisprudence were compiled by the diligence of antiquarians.

(998) The twelve tables of the decemvirs were dictated by the rigid and jealous spirit of an aristocracy, which had yielded with reluctance to the just demands of the people. But their substance was adapted to the state of the city, as the Romans had emerged from barbarism, by studying and embracing the institutions of their more enlightened neighbours.

Whatever might be the merit of these tables, they obtained among the Romans that blind and partial reverence, which the lawgivers of every country delight to bestow on their municipal institutions. The study is recommended by Cicero, as equally pleasant and instructive. "How admirable," says he, "is the wisdom of our ancestors! We alone are the masters of civil prudence, and our superiority is more conspicuous, if we deign to cast our eyes on the rude and almost ridiculous jurisprudence of Draco, Solon, and Lycurgus. Our laws amuse the mind by the remembrance of old words, and the portrait of ancient manners; while they inculcate the soundest principles of government and morals." The twelve tables were committed to the memory of the young and the meditation of the old; they were transcribed and illustrated with learned diligence; they escaped the flames of the Gauls, and subsisted in the age of Justinian; their subsequent loss has been imperfectly restored by the labours of modern critics. Although these venerable monuments were considered as the rule of right and the fountain of justice, they were overwhelmed by the weight and variety of new laws, which, at the end of five centuries, became a grievance more intolerable than the vices of the city. Three thousand brass plates

containing the acts of the senate and people, were deposited in the capitol; and some of the acts, as the Julian law against extortion, consisted of more than a hundred chapters.

The twelve tables were approved by an assembly of the centuries, in which riches preponderated against numbers. To the first class of Romans, the proprietors of one hundred thousand pounds of copper, ninety-eight votes were assigned, and only ninety-five were left for the six inferior classes, distributed according to their substance by the artful policy of Servius. But the tribunes soon established a more specious and popular maxim, that every citizen has an equal right to enact the laws, which he is bound to obey. Instead of centuries, they convened the tribes; and the patricians, after an impotent struggle, submitted to the decrees of an assembly, in which their votes were confounded with those of the meanest plebeians. Yet as long as the tribes successively gave their voices aloud, the conduct of each citizen was exposed to the eyes and ears of his friends and countrymen. The insolvent debtor consulted the wishes of his creditor; the client would have blushed to oppose the views of his patron; the general was followed by his veterans; and the aspect of a magistrate was a living lesson to the multitude. A new method of secret ballot abolished the influence of fear and shame, of honour and interest, and the abuse of freedom accelerated the progress of anarchy and despotism.

Among savage nations, the want of letters is imperfectly supplied by the use of signs, which awaken attention, and perpetuate the remembrance of any public or private transaction. The jurisprudence of the first Romans exhibited the scenes of a pantomime; the words were adapted to the gestures, and the slightest error or neglect in the forms of proceeding was sufficient to annul the substance of the fairest claim. The connection of marriage was denoted by the necessary elements of fire and water: and the divorced wife resigned the bunch of keys, by the delivery of which she had been invested with the government of the family.

The manumission of a son, or a slave, was performed by turning him round with a gentle blow on the cheek; a work was prohibited by the casting of a stone; prescription was interrupted by the breaking of a branch; the clenched fist was the symbol of a pledge or deposit; the right hand was the gift of faith and confidence. The indenture of covenants was a broken straw; weights and scales were introduced into every payment, and the heir, who accepted a testament, was sometimes obliged to snap his fingers, to cast away his garments, and to leap and dance with real or affected transport.

In a civil action, the plaintiff touched the ear of his witness, seized his reluctant adversary by the neck, and implored, in a solemn lamentation, the aid of his fellow citizens.

The two competitors grasped each other's hand, as if they stood prepared for combat before the tribunal of the prætor: he commanded them to produce the object of the dispute; they went and returned with measured steps, and a clod of earth was cast at his feet to represent the field for which they contended. This occult science of law was the inheritance of the pontiffs and patricians. Like the Chaldean astrologers, they announced to their clients the days of business and repose; these important trifles were interwoven with the religion of Numa; and, after the publication of the twelve tables, the Roman people were still enslaved by their ignorance of judicial proceedings. The treachery of some plebeian officers at length revealed the profitable mystery; in a more enlightened age, the legal actions were both derived and observed; and the antiquity, which sanctified the practice, obliterated the use and meaning of this primitive language. (999) The revolution of almost one thousand years, from the twelve tables to the reign of Justinian, may be divided into three periods almost equal in duration, and distinguished from each other by the mode of instruction and the character of the civilians. Pride and ignorance contributed during the first period to confine within narrow

limits the science of the Roman law. On the public days of market or assembly, the masters of the art were seen walking in the forum, ready to impart advice to the meanest of their fellow citizens, whose votes, on a future occasion, they might solicit as a grateful return. As their years and honours increased, they seated themselves at home on a chair or throne, expecting with patient gravity the visits of their clients, who at the dawn of day, from the town and country, began to thunder at their door *. The second period, the learned and splendid age of jurisprudence, may be extended from the birth of Cicero to the reign of Severus Alexander. A system was formed, schools were instituted, books were composed, and both the living and the dead became subservient to the instruction of the student. In the third period, between the reigns of Alexander and Justinian, the oracles of jurisprudence were almost mute. The measure of curiosity had been filled; the throne was occupied by tyrants and barbarians; active minds were diverted by religious disputes; and the professors of Rome, Constantinople, and Berytus, were content to repeat the lessons of their more enlightened predecessors.

(1000) When Justinian ascended the throne, the reformation of the Roman jurisprudence was an arduous but indispensable task. In the space of ten centuries, the infinite variety of laws and legal opinions had filled many thousand volumes, which no fortune could purchase, and no capacity could digest. Books could not easily be found; and the judges, poor in the midst of riches, were reduced to the exercise of their illiterate discretion. The subjects of the Greek provinces were ignorant of the language that disposed of their lives and properties; and the barbarous dialect of the Latins was imperfectly studied in the academies of Berytus and Constantinople. As an Illyrian soldier, that idiom

* * Agricolam laudat juris legumque peritus
Sub galli cantum, consultor ubi ostia pulsat.

HORACE.

was familiar to Justinian. Having studied jurisprudence, he selected the most learned civilians of the East, to labour with their sovereign in the work of reformation. The theory of professors was assisted by the practice of advocates, and the experience of magistrates; and the whole undertaking was animated by the spirit of Tribonian. This extraordinary man was a native of Pamphylia; and his genius, like that of Bacon, embraced, as his own, all the business and knowledge of the age.

If Cæsar had achieved the reformation of the Roman law, his creative genius, enlightened by reflection and study, would have given to the world a pure and original system of jurisprudence. Whatever flattery might suggest, yet the emperor of the East was afraid to establish his judgments as the standard of equity: in the possession of legislative power, he borrowed the aid of time and opinion; and his laborious compilations are guarded by the sages and legislators of past times. Instead of a statue cast in a simple mould by the hand of an artist, the works of Justinian represent a tesselated pavement of antique and costly, but too often of incoherent, fragments. In the first year of his reign, he directed the faithful Tribonian, and nine learned associates, to revise the ordinances of his predecessors, to retrench whatever was superfluous, and to select those wise and salutary laws which were best adapted to the practice of the tribunes and the use of his subjects. The new code of Justinian was honoured with his name and confirmed by his royal signature: authentic transcripts were multiplied by the pens of notaries; they were transmitted to the magistrates of the European, the Asiatic, and afterwards the African provinces, and the law of the empire was proclaimed on solemn festivals at the doors of churches. A more arduous operation still remained; to extract the spirit of jurisprudence from the decisions and disputes of the Roman civilians. Seventeen lawyers, with Tribonian at their head, were appointed by the emperor to exercise an absolute jurisdiction over the works of their prede-

cessors. From the library of Tribonian, they chose forty of the most eminent civilians of former times.

(1001) Two thousand treatises were comprised in an abridgement of fifty books; and it has been carefully recorded, that three millions of sentences were reduced, in this abstract, to the moderate number of one hundred and fifty thousand. To this composition they gave the name of the Pandects or Digest. The edition of this great work was delayed a month after that of the Institutes; and it seemed reasonable that the elements should precede the digest of the Roman law. The code, the pandects, and the institutes, were declared to be the legitimate system of civil jurisprudence: they alone were admitted in the tribunals, and taught in the academies of Rome, Constantinople, and Berytus.

(1002) The original right of property can only be justified by the accident of prior possession; and on this foundation it is wisely established by the philosophy of the civilians. The savage who hollows a tree, inserts a sharp stone into a wooden handle, or applies a sharp string to an elastic branch, becomes in a state of nature the just proprietor of the canoe, the hatchet, or the bow. The materials were common to all; but the produce of his time and simple industry belong solely to himself. His hungry brethren cannot, without a sense of their own injustice, extort from the hunter the game of the forest overtaken or slain by his personal strength and dexterity. If his provident care preserves and multiplies tame animals, whose nature is tractable to the arts of education, he acquires a perpetual right to the use and service of their numerous progeny, which derives its existence from him alone. If he incloses and cultivates a field for their sustenance and his own, a barren waste is converted into a fertile soil; the seed, the manure, and labour, creates a new value, and the rewards of harvest are painfully earned by the fatigues of the revolving year. In the successive states of society, the hunter, the shepherd, and the husbandman, may defend their possessions by two

reasons which forcibly appeal to the feelings of the human mind, that whatever they enjoy is the fruit of their own industry, and that every man, who envies their felicity, may purchase similar acquisitions by the exercise of similar diligence. Such may be the freedom and plenty of a small colony cast on a fruitful island. But the colony multiplies, while the space still continues the same; the common rights, the equal inheritance of mankind, are engrossed by the bold and crafty; each field is circumscribed by the land-marks of a jealous master; and it is the peculiar praise of the Roman jurisprudence, that it asserts the claim of the first possessor to the wild animals of the earth, the air, and the waters.

In the progress from primitive equity to final injustice, the shades are almost imperceptible, and the absolute monopoly is guarded by positive laws and artificial reason. The active insatiate principle of self-love can alone supply the arts of life and the wages of industry; and as soon as civil government and exclusive property have been introduced, they become necessary to the existance of the human race.

(1003) The order of succession is regulated by nature; but is frequently violated by the arbitrary and partial wills which prolong the dominion of the testator beyond the grave. In the simple state of society, this right of property is seldom indulged. It was introduced at Athens by the laws of Solon; and the private testaments of the father of a family are authorised by the twelve tables. Before the time of the decemvirs, a Roman citizen explained his wishes and motives to the assembly of the thirty curiæ or parishes, and the general law of inheritance was suspended by an occasional act of the legislature. After the permissions of the decemvirs, each private lawgiver promulgated his verbal or written testament in the presence of five citizens, who represented the five classes of the Roman people; a sixth witness attested their concurrence; a seventh weighed the copper money, which was paid by an imaginary purchaser; and the estate was eman-

cipated by a fictitious sale and immediate release. This singular ceremony, which excited the wonder of the Greeks, was still practised in the age of Severus; but the prætors had always approved a more simple testament, for which they acquired the seals and signatures of seven witnesses, free from all legal exception, and purposely summoned for the execution of that important act.

A father might distribute to his children their respective shares, according to the degrees of their merit or his affection. His arbitrary displeasure chastised an unworthy son by the loss of his inheritance. But the abuse of this privilege by unnatural parents recommended some limitations of their testamentary powers. A son, or by the laws of Justinian, even a daughter, could no longer be disinherited by their silence: they were compelled to name their criminal, and to specify the offence; and the justice of the emperor enumerated the sole causes that could justify such a violation of the first principles of nature and society. Unless a legitimate portion, a fourth part, had been reserved for the children, they were entitled to institute an action or complaint of inofficious testament, to prove that their father's understanding was impaired by sickness or age; and respectfully to appeal from his rigorous sentence to the deliberate wisdom of the magistrate.

(1004) If the Romans were deficient in the more amiable qualities of benevolence and generosity, they astonished the Greeks by their simple performance of the most burthensome engagements. Yet among the same people, according to the rigid maxims of the patricians and decemvirs, a promise, or even an oath, did not create any civil obligation, unless it was confirmed by a legal stipulation. Whatever might be the etymology of the Latin word, it conveyed the idea of a firm and irrevocable contract, which was always expressed in the mode of a question and answer. Do you promise to pay me one hundred pieces of gold? was the solemn interrogation of Seius. I do promise, was the reply of Sempronius. The friends of Sem-

pronius, who answered for his ability and inclination, might be separately sued at the option of Seius.

Usury, the inveterate grievance of the city, had been discouraged by the twelve tables, and abolished by the clamours of the people. It was revived by their wants and idleness, tolerated by the discretion of the prætors, and finally determined by the code of Justinian. Persons of illustrious rank were confined to the moderate profit of four per cent.; six was pronounced to be the ordinary and legal standard of interest; eight was allowed for the convenience of manufacturers and merchants; twelve was granted to nautical insurance, which the wiser ancients had not attempted to define; but, except in this frivolous adventure, the practice of exorbitant usury was severely restrained. The most simple interest was condemned by the clergy of the East and West. But the sense of mutual benefit resisted the decrees of the Church and even the prejudices of mankind *.

(1005) Nature and society impose the strict obligation of repairing an injury; and the sufferer by private justice acquires a personal right and legitimate action. If the property of another be entrusted to our care, the requisite degree of care may rise and fall according to the benefit which we derive from such temporary possession; we are seldom made responsible for inevitable accident, but the consequences of a voluntary fault must always be imputed to the author. A Roman recovered his stolen goods by a civil action of theft; they might pass through a succession of pure and innocent hands; but nothing less than a prescription of thirty years could extinguish his original claim. They were restored by the sentence of the prætor, and the injury was compensated by double, or threefold, or even quadruple damages, as

* Cato, Seneca, and Plutarch, have loudly condemned the practice of usury. According to the etymology of Fœnus, the principal is supposed to generate the interest. "A breed of barren metal," exclaims Shakspeare; and the stage is the echo of the public voice.

the deed had been perpetrated by secret fraud or open rapine, as the robber had been surprised in the fact, or detected by subsequent research. The Aquilian law defended the living property of a citizen, his slaves, and cattle, from the stroke of malice or negligence. The highest price was allowed that could be ascribed to the domestic animal, at any time of the year, preceding his death. A similar latitude of thirty days was granted on the destruction of any other valuable effects.

A personal injury is blunted or sharpened, by the manners of the times, and the sensibility of the individual: the pain or the disgrace of a word or a blow cannot easily be appreciated by a pecuniary equivalent. The rude jurisprudence of the decemvirs had confounded all hasty insults, which did not amount to the fracture of a limb, by condemning the aggressor to the common penalty of twenty-five asses, or pounds of copper. But the same denomination of money was reduced in three centuries from a pound to the weight of half an ounce; and the insolence of a wealthy Roman indulged himself, in the cheap amusement of breaking and satisfying the law of the twelve tables. Veratius ran through the streets striking on the faces the inoffensive passengers, and his attendant purse-bearer immediately silenced their clamours by the legal tender of twenty-five pieces, about the value of one shilling.

(1006) The execution of the Alban dictator, who was dismembered by eight horses, is represented by Livy as the first and the last instance of Roman cruelty, in the punishment of the most atrocious crimes. But this act was inflicted on a foreign enemy in the heat of victory, and at the command of a single man. The twelve tables afford a more decisive proof of the national spirit, since they were framed by the wisest of the senate, and accepted by the voices of the people; yet these laws, like the statute of Draco, are written in characters of blood. They prove the inhuman and unequal principle of retaliation; and the forfeit

of an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, a limb for a limb, is rigourously exacted, unless the offender can redeem his pardon by a fine of three hundred pounds of copper. The decemvirs distributed, with much liberality, the slighter chastisements of flagellation and servitude.

(1007) The cruelty of the twelve tables against insolvent debtors still remain to be told. After the judicial proof or confession of the debt, thirty days of grace were allowed before a Roman was delivered into the power of his fellow citizen. In this private prison, twelve ounces of rice were his daily food. He might be bound with a chain of fifteen pounds weight; and his misery was thrice exposed in the market-place, to solicit the compassion of his friends and countrymen. At the expiration of sixty days, the debt was discharged by the loss of liberty or life. The insolvent debtor was either put to death, or sold in foreign slavery beyond the Tiber. As the manners of Rome were insensibly polished, the criminal code of the decemvirs was abolished by the humanity of accusers, witnesses, and judges; and impunity became the consequence of immoderate rigour. The Porcian and Valerian laws prohibited the magistrates from inflicting on a free citizen any capital punishment.

In the absence of penal laws, the peace and justice of the city were imperfectly maintained by the private jurisdiction of the citizens. The malefactors who replenish our gaols are the outcasts of society, and the crimes for which they suffer may be commonly ascribed to ignorance, poverty, and brutal appetite. Among the Romans, each family contained a domestic tribunal, which was not confined, like that of the prætor, to the cognizance of external actions. Virtuous principles and habits were inculcated by the discipline of education, and the Roman father was accountable to the state for the manners of his children.

The maxims of honour, productive of so many duels, in modern times, were unknown to the Romans; and during the two purest ages, from the establishment of

equal freedom to the end of the Punic wars, the city was never disturbed by sedition, and rarely polluted with atrocious crimes. The failure of penal laws was more sensibly felt, when every vice was influenced by faction at home and dominion abroad. In the time of Cicero, each private citizen enjoyed the privilege of anarchy: each minister of the republic was exalted to the temptations of regal power: and their virtues are entitled to the warmest praise, as the spontaneous fruits of nature or philosophy.

After a triennial indulgence of lust, rapine, and cruelty, Verres, the tyrant of Sicily, could only be sued for the pecuniary restitution of three hundred thousand pounds sterling; and such was the temper of the laws, that on refunding a thirteenth part of his plunder, Verres could retire to an easy and luxurious exile.

Under the emperors, transportation and beheading were reserved for honourable persons. Meaner criminals were either hanged or burnt, or buried in the mines, or exposed to the wild beasts of the amphitheatre. Armed robbers were pursued and extirpated as the enemies of society; the driving away horses or cattle was made a capital offence; but simple theft was uniformly considered as a civil injury. The degrees of guilt, and the modes of punishment, were too often determined by the discretion of the rulers; and the subject was left in ignorance of the legal danger, which he might incur by every action in his life.

CHAPTER X.

Military Establishment of the Romans—Discipline—Exercises—Legions—Cohorts—Arms—Cavalry—Auxiliaries—Artillery—Camp—March—Number and Disposition of the Legions.

(1008) In the purer ages of the commonwealth, the use of arms was reserved for those ranks of citizens who had a country to love, a property to defend, and some share in enacting those laws, which it was their interest, as well as their duty, to maintain. But in proportion as the public freedom was lost in extent of conquest, war was gradually improved into an art, and degraded into a trade. The legions were supposed to consist of Roman citizens. That distinction was generally considered, either as a legal qualification, or as a proper recompence, for the soldier; but a more serious regard was paid to the essential merit of age, strength, and military stature. In all levies a just preference was given to the climates of the north over those of the south. The race of men born to the exercise of arms was sought for in the country rather than in the cities; and it was very reasonably presumed, that the hardy occupations of smiths, carpenters, and huntsmen, would supply more vigour and resolution, than sedentary trades. After every distinction of property had been laid aside, the armies of the Roman emperors were still commanded by officers of a liberal birth and education; but the common soldiers, like the mercenary troops of modern Europe, were drawn from the meanest, and very frequently from the most profligate of mankind.

(1009) The peasant or mechanic, however, when he became a soldier, imbibed the useful prejudice that he

was advanced to the more dignified profession of arms, in which his rank and reputation would depend on his own valour. On his first entrance into the service, an oath was administered to him, with every circumstance of solemnity; he promised never to desert his standard, to submit his own will to that of his leaders, and to sacrifice his life for the safety of the emperor and the empire. The attachment of the Roman troops to their standards was inspired by the united influence of religion and of honour. The golden eagle, which glittered in the front of the legion, was the object of their fondest devotion; nor was it esteemed less impious than ignominious, to abandon that sacred ensign in the hour of danger. These motives, which derived their strength from the imagination, were enforced by fears and hopes of a more substantial kind. Regular pay, occasional donations, and a stated recompence after the appointed time of service, alleviated the hardships of the military life; whilst, on the other hand, it was impossible for cowardice or disobedience to escape the severest punishment. The centurions were authorised to chastise with blows. The generals had a right to punish with death; and it was an inflexible maxim of Roman discipline, that a good soldier should dread his officer more than the enemy.

So sensible were the Romans of the imperfection of valour without skill and practice, that, in their language, the name of an army was borrowed from the word which signifies exercise.* Military exercises were the unremitted object of their discipline. The recruits and young soldiers were constantly trained both in the morning and the evening, nor was age or knowledge allowed to excuse the veterans from the daily repetition of what they had completely learnt.

Large sheds were erected in the winter quarters of the troops, that their useful labours might not receive any interruption from the most tempestuous weather; and it was carefully observed, that the arms destined

* Exercitus is derived from exercito.

to this imitation of war, should be of double the weight which was required in real action.

Their exercises comprehended whatever could add strength to the body, activity to the limbs, or grace to the motions. The soldiers were diligently instructed to march, to run, to leap, to swim, to carry heavy burdens, to handle every species of arms, used either for offence or defence, either in distant engagement, or in closer onset; to form a variety of evolutions; and to move to the sound of flutes, in the Pyrrhic or martial dance. In the midst of peace, the Roman troops familiarised themselves with the practice of war; and it is prettily remarked by an ancient historian who had fought against them, that the effusion of blood was the only circumstance which distinguished a field of battle from a field of exercise. It was the policy of the generals, and even of the emperors themselves, to encourage these military studies by their presence and example; and we are informed that Adrian, as well as Trajan, frequently condescended to instruct the inexperienced soldiers, to reward the diligent, and sometimes to dispute with them the prize of superior strength or dexterity. Under the reigns of those princes, the science of tactics was cultivated with success; and as long as the empire retained any vigour, their military instructions were respected as the model of Roman discipline.

(1010) Nine centuries of war had gradually introduced into the service many alterations and improvements. The legions, as they are described by Polybius, in the time of the Punic wars differed very materially from those which achieved the victories of Cæsar, or the Antonines. The constitution of the imperial legions may be described in a few words. The heavy-armed infantry, which composed its principal strength, was divided into ten cohorts, and fifty-five companies, under the orders of a correspondent number of tribunes and centurions. The first cohort, which always claimed the post of honour and custody of the eagle was formed of eleven hundred and five soldiers, the

most approved for valour and fidelity. The remaining cohorts consisted each of five hundred and fifty-five; and the whole body of legionary infantry amounted to six thousand one hundred men. Their arms were uniform, and admirably adapted to the nature of their service: an open helmet with a lofty crest; a breast-plate, or coat of mail; greaves on their legs, and an ample buckler on their left arm. The buckler was of an oblong and concave figure, four feet in length, and two and an half in breadth, framed of a light wood, covered with a bull's hide, and strongly guarded with plates of brass. Besides a lighter spear, the legionary soldier grasped in his right hand the formidable pilum, a ponderous javelin, whose utmost length was six feet, and which was terminated by a massy triangular point of steel, of eighteen inches. This instrument was indeed much inferior to our modern fire-arms: since it was exhausted by a discharge, at the distance of only ten or twelve paces. Yet when it was launched by a firm and skilful hand, there was not any cavalry that dared to venture within its reach, nor any shield or corslet that could sustain the impetuosity of its weight. As soon as the Roman had darted his pilum, he drew his sword, and rushed forwards to close with the enemy. His sword was a short well-tempered Spanish blade, that carried a double edge, and was alike suited to the purpose of striking or of pushing; but the soldier was always instructed to perform the latter use of his weapon, as his own body remained less exposed, whilst he inflicted a more dangerous wound on his adversary. The legion was usually drawn up eight deep; and the regular distance of three feet was left between the files as well as ranks. A body of troops, habituated to preserve this order during a rapid charge, found themselves prepared to execute every disposition which the circumstances of war, or the skill of their leader, might suggest. The soldier possessed a free space for his arms and motions, and sufficient intervals were allowed, through which seasonable reinforcements might be introduced to the relief of the exhausted combatants.

The tactics of the Greeks and Macedonians were formed on very different principles. The strength of the phalanx depended on sixteen ranks of long pikes, wedged together in the closest array. But it was soon discovered by the event, that it was unable to contend with the legion.

(1011) The cavalry, which without the force of the legion would have remained imperfect, was divided into ten troops or squadrons; the first, as the companion of the first cohorts, consisted of a hundred and thirty-two men; while each of the other nine amounted to only sixty-six. The entire establishment formed a regiment, if we may use the modern expression, of seven hundred and twenty-six horse, naturally connected with its respective legion, but occasionally separated to act in the line, and to compose a part of the wings of the

he Roman troops despised the complete armour, with which the cavalry of the East were encumbered. Their more useful arms consisted in a helmet, an oblong shield, light boots, and a coat of mail. A javelin and a long broad sword were the principal weapons of offence. The use of lances and of iron maces they seem to have borrowed from the barbarians.

The safety and honour of the empire were principally entrusted to the legions; but the policy of Rome condescended to adopt every useful instrument of war. Considerable levies were regularly made among the provincials, who had not yet deserved the honourable distinction of Romans. They were called auxiliaries, and retained those arms, to which the nature of their country, or their early habits of life, more peculiarly adapted them. By this institution, each legion, to whom a certain proportion of auxiliaries was allotted, contained within itself every species of lighter troops, and of missile weapons; and was capable of encountering every nation, with the advantages of its respective arms and discipline.

Nor was the legion destitute of what in modern language would be styled a train of artillery. It consisted

in ten military engines of the largest, and fifty-five of a smaller size; but all of which, either in an oblique or horizontal manner, discharged stones and darts with irresistible violence.

(1012) The camp of a Roman legion presented the appearance of a fortified city. As soon as a space was marked out, the pioneers levelled the ground, and removed every impediment that might interrupt its regularity. Its form was an exact quadrangle; and we may calculate, that a square of about seven hundred yards was sufficient for the encampment of twenty thousand Romans; though a similar number of our own troops would expose to the enemy a front of more than treble that extent.

In the midst of the camp, the prætorium, or general's quarters, rose above the others; the cavalry, the infantry, and the auxiliaries, occupied their respective stations; the streets were broad, and perfectly straight; and a vacant space of two hundred feet was left on all sides, between the tents and the ramparts. The rampart itself was usually twelve feet high, armed with a line of strong and intricate palisades, and defended by a ditch of twelve feet in depth as well as in breadth. This important labour was performed by the legionaries themselves; to whom the use of the pickaxe and the spade was not less familiar than that of the sword or pilum. Active valour may often be the gift of nature; but such preserving diligence can be the fruit only of habit and discipline.

(1013) Whenever the trumpet gave the signal of departure, the camp was instantly broken up, and the troops fell into their ranks without delay or confusion. Besides their arms, which the legionaries scarcely considered as an incumbrance, they were laden with their kitchen furniture, the instruments of fortification, and the provision of many days. Under this weight, which would oppress the delicacy of a modern soldier, they were trained by a regular step to advance, in about six hours, nearly twenty miles. On the appearance of an enemy, they threw aside their baggage, and by easy and

rapid evolutions converted the column of march into an order of battle. The slingers and archers skirmished in the front; the auxiliaries formed the first line, and were seconded or sustained by the strength of the legions; the cavalry covered the flanks, and the military engines were placed in the rear.

Such were the arts of war, by which the Roman emperors defended their extensive conquests; and preserved a military spirit, at a time when every other virtue was oppressed by luxury and despotism. If, in the consideration of their armies, we pass from their discipline to their numbers, we shall not find it easy to define them with any tolerable accuracy. We may compute, that the legion, which was itself a body of six thousand eight hundred and thirty-one Romans, might, with its attendant auxiliaries, amount to about twelve thousand five hundred men. The peace establishment of Adrian and his successors was composed of thirty of those formidable brigades; and formed a standing force of three hundred and seventy-five thousand men. Instead of being confined within the walls of fortified cities, which the Romans considered as the refuge of weakness or pusillanimity, the legions were encamped on the banks of the great rivers, and along the frontiers of the barbarians. As their stations, for the most part, remained fixed and permanent, we may venture to describe the distribution of the troops. Three legions were sufficient for Britain. The principal strength lay on the Rhine and Danube, and consisted of sixteen legions, in the following proportions: two in the lower, and three in upper Germany; one in Rhætia, one in Noricum, four in Pannonia, three in Mæsia, and two in Dacia. The defence of the Euphrates was entrusted to eight legions, six of whom were planted in Syria, and the other two in Cappadocia. With regard to Egypt, Africa, and Spain, as they were far removed from any important scene of war, a single legion maintained the domestic tranquillity of each of those provinces. Even Italy was not left destitute of military force. Above twenty thousand chosen sol-

diers, distinguished by the titles of city cohorts and prætorian guards, watched over the safety of the monarch and the capital.

CHAPTER XI.

The Roman Navy—Manner of Fighting by Sea—Use of the Compass unknown to the Ancients—The whole Roman Establishment.

(1014) WE do not find that the Romans had any naval forces, before the first Punic war, when they were victorious in the first battle by sea with the Carthaginians, who were then the most expert of all nations in naval affairs. This fleet was composed of one hundred and twenty galleys, of which a hundred were of five, and the rest of three benches of oars. During the same war, they fitted out three hundred and thirty beaked galleys, each carrying three hundred rowers, and one hundred and twenty soldiers. Pompey, in the civil war, had six hundred ships, of which some were galleys, and others light barks. Mark Antony, at the battle of Actium, had a navy consisting of five hundred ships, among which were some of eight banks of oars. After the civil wars, Augustus kept up three fleets in Italy; one at the port of Misenum, in Naples, another at Ravenna, in the Adriatic gulf, and the third at Frejus, on the coast of Province. The emperor Adrian had two thousand light vessels, and fifteen hundred ships or galleys, from three to five banks of oars. The Roman ships had but one mast*,

*———Tunc adversis urgentibus illuc
Recidit, ut malum ferro summitteret.

JUVENAL.

So fierce the storm, necessity at last
Does loudly call to ease her of her mast.

DRYDEN.

and consequently much less rigging than modern ones; and though they had sails, they were worked with oars. Some of them were without decks, and had only one row of oars on each side. These were called light barks, because they were much swifter than the rest. Those, which had several decks, had also several banks of oars one above another.

When the fleets were to engage, they erected on the decks of the ships wooden towers, which were easily raised, and taken down after the action. From these they discharged darts and stones upon the enemy, with great advantage. They also made use of machines, which were planted in different parts of the ship, and discharged stones of considerable size, and fire darts, which were great arrows, covered with pitch and other combustible materials. These being lighted, set fire to the ships,

(1015) Their manner of fighting was, either to take the vessel, which they attacked in flank, that the violent stroke of the beak might pierce and sink it; or by running alongside to break the oars; or to grapple it with hooks, in order to board it.

(1016) As they were ignorant of the use of the compass they steered in the night by the stars, and in the day by the coasts and islands which they knew, and by which the pilots were guided. For in the Mediterranean, the only sea then navigated, they could not be long without discovering land. 1017) They had anchors for stopping ships, and the lead for sounding; but they were not sufficiently skilled in naval affairs, to expose themselves to stormy weather. When they were surprised by a tempest, they made for land, in order to run ashore: they did the same when they were too closely pursued by an enemy of superior force. As soon as the danger was over, they set the ship afloat again with levers, which shews, that if the ancients knew some useful arts, with which we are unacquainted, we have discovered others, still more useful, of which they had not the least knowledge.

(1018) The ambition of the Romans was chiefly confined to land; nor was that warlike people ever actuated by the enterprising spirit, which had prompted the navigators of Tyre and Carthage, to enlarge the bounds of the world, and to explore the most remote coasts of the ocean. To the Romans the ocean remained an object of terror rather than of curiosity. The whole extent of the Mediterranean, after the destruction of Carthage, and the extirpation of the pirates, was included within their provinces. The policy of the emperors was directed only to preserve the peaceful dominion of that sea, and to protect the commerce of their subjects.

(1019) If we review the general state of the Roman forces, under the emperors; of the cavalry as well as infantry; of the legions, the auxiliaries, the guards, and the navy; the entire establishment by sea and by land will amount to about four hundred and fifty thousand men.

BOOK VII.

MISCELLANEOUS INFORMATION RESPECTING ROMAN AFFAIRS.

CHAPTER I.

View of the Provinces of the Roman Empire.

THE following provinces, now divided into so many independent and hostile states, were once united under the Roman government.

(1020) Spain, the western extremity of the empire of Europe, and of the ancient world, has in every age invariably preserved the same natural limits; the Pyrenæan mountains, the Mediterranean, and the Atlantic ocean. That great peninsula was distributed by Augustus into three provinces, Lusitania, Bœtica, and Tarraconensis. The kingdom of Portugal now fills the place of the warlike country of the Lusitanians; and the loss sustained by the former on the side of the east is compensated by an accession of territory towards the north. The confines of Grenada and Andalusia correspond with those of ancient Bœtica. The remainder of Spain formed the third and most considerable of the Roman governments, which, from the name of its capital, was styled the province of Tarragona.

(1021) Ancient Gaul, as it contained the whole country between the Pyrenees, the Alps, the Rhine,

and the ocean, was of greater extent than modern France. When Augustus gave laws to the conquests of his father, he introduced a division of Gaul equally adapted to the progress of the legions, to the course of rivers, and to the principal national distinctions, which had comprehended above a hundred states. The sea-coast of the Mediterranean, Languedoc, Provence, and Dauphiné, received their provincial appellation from the colony of Narbonne. The government of Aquitaine was extended from the Pyrenees to the Loire. The country between the Loire and the Seine was styled the Celtic Gaul, and soon borrowed a new denomination from the celebrated colony of Lugdunum, or Lyons. The Belgic lay beyond the Seine, and in more ancient times had been bounded only by the Rhine; but a little before the age of Cæsar, the Germans, presuming on their superiority in valour, had occupied a considerable portion of the Belgic territory. The Romans eagerly embraced the opportunity of conferring on the Gallic frontier of the Rhine, from Basil to Leyden, the pompous names of Upper and Lower Germany.

(1022) When Britain was a Roman province, it comprehended England, Wales, and the lowlands of Scotland, as far as the Friths of Dumbarton and Edinburgh. Before Britain lost her freedom, the country was irregularly divided between thirty tribes of barbarians, of whom the most considerable were the Belgæ in the west, the Brigantes in the north, the Silures in South Wales, and the Iceni in Norfolk and Suffolk. As far as we can either trace or credit the resemblance of manners and language, Spain, Gaul, and Britain, were peopled by the same hardy race of savages. Before they yielded to the Roman arms, they often disputed the field, and often renewed the contest. After their submission, they constituted the western division of the European provinces, which extended from the columns of Hercules to the wall of Antoninus, and from the mouth of the Tagus to the sources of the Rhine and Danube.

(1023) With regard to Italy, before the Roman conquest, Lombardy was not considered as part of that country. It had been occupied by a powerful colony of Gauls, who settling along the banks of the Po, from Piedmont to Romagna, carried their arms and diffused their name from the Alps to the Appenines. The Ligurians dwelt on the rocky coast, which now forms the republic of Genoa. Venice was yet unborn; but the territories of that state, which lie to the east of the Adige, were inhabited by the Venetians. The middle part of the peninsula, which composed the duchy of Tuscany and the ecclesiastical state, was the ancient seat of the Etruscans and Umbrians; to the former Italy was indebted for the first rudiments of civilized life. The Tiber rolled at the feet of the seven hills of Rome; and the country of the Sabines, the Latins, and the Volsci, from that river to the frontiers of Naples, was the theatre of her infant victories. On that celebrated ground the first consuls enjoyed triumphs, their successors adorned villas, and their posterity have erected convents. Capua and Campania possessed the immediate territory of Naples; and the rest of the kingdom was inhabited by many warlike nations, the Marsi, the Samnites, the Apulians, and the Lucanians. The sea-coast had been covered by the flourishing colonies of the Greeks.

The European provinces of Rome were protected by the course of the Rhine and the Danube. The latter, which rises at the distance of thirty miles from the former, flows above thirteen hundred miles to the south east, collects the tribute of sixty navigable rivers, and is at length, through six mouths, received into the Euxine, which appears scarcely equal to such an accession of waters. The provinces of the Danube soon acquired the general appellation of Illyricum, or the Illyrian frontier, and were esteemed the most warlike of the empire. These were comprehended under the names of Rhætia, Noricum, Pannonia, Dalmatia, Dacia, Mesia, Thrace, Macedonia, and Greece.

(1024) The kingdom of Macedonia, which, under

the reign of Alexander, gave laws to Asia, derived solid advantages from the policy of the two Philips; and with its dependencies of Epirus and Thessaly, extended from the Ægean to the Ionian sea. When we reflect on the fame of Thebes and Argos, of Sparta and Athens, we can scarcely persuade ourselves that so many republics of ancient Greece were lost in a single province of the Roman empire, which, from the superior influence of the Achæan league, was usually denominated the province of Achaia.

The provinces of Asia, and the transient conquests of Trajan, are all comprehended within the limits of the Turkish power.

Under the successors of Alexander, Syria was the seat of the Seleucidæ, who reigned over Upper Asia, till the successful revolt of the Parthians confirmed their dominions between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean. When Syria became subject to the Romans, it formed the eastern frontier of their empire; nor did that province, in its utmost latitude, know any other bounds than the mountains of Cappadocia to the north, and towards the south, the confines of Egypt, and the Red sea. Phœnicia and Palestine were sometimes annexed, and sometimes separated from the jurisdiction of Syria. The former of these was a narrow and rocky coast; the latter scarcely superior to Wales, either in fertility or extent. Yet Phœnicia and Palestine will for ever live in the memory of mankind; since America, as well as Europe, has derived letters from the one, and religion from the other. A sandy desert, destitute of wood and water, skirts along the doubtful confine of Syria, from the Euphrates to the Red sea. The wandering life of the Arabs was inseparably connected with their independence; but wherever they ventured to form any settled habitation, they soon became subject to the Roman empire.

The geographers of antiquity have frequently hesitated to what portion of the globe they should ascribe Egypt. By its situation that celebrated kingdom is included within the peninsula of Africa; but it is ac-

cessible only on the side of Asia, whose revolutions, in every period of history, Egypt was humbly obeyed. A Roman præfect was seated on the splendid throne of the Ptolemies; and the sceptre of the Mamalukes, lately swayed by a Turkish pasha, is now in the hands of the Britons.

The Nile flows down the country, above five hundred miles from the tropic of Cancer to the Mediterranean, and marks the extent of fertility by the measure of its inundations. Cyrene, situated towards the west, and along the sea-coast, was first a Greek colony, afterwards a province of Egypt, and is now lost in the desert of Barca.

(1025) From Cyrene to the ocean, the coast of Africa extends above fifteen hundred miles; yet so closely is it pressed between the Mediterranean and the Sahara, or sandy desert, that its breadth seldom exceeds a hundred miles. The eastern division was considered by the Romans as the peculiar province of Africa. Till the arrival of the Phœnician colonies, that fertile country was inhabited by the Libyans, the most savage of mankind. Under the immediate jurisdiction of Carthage, it became the centre of commerce and empire; but Carthage is now degenerated into the feeble and disorderly states of Tripoli and Tunis. The military government of Algiers oppresses Numidia, to which it was united under Massanissa and Jugurtha; but in the time of Augustus, the limits of Numidia were contracted; and two thirds of the country acquiesced in the name of Mauritania, with the epithet of Cæsariensis. The genuine Mauritania, or country of the Moors, which, from the ancient city of Tingi, or Tangier, was distinguished by the appellation of Tingitana, is represented by the modern kingdom of Fez.

Having now finished the circuit of the Roman empire, we may observe that Africa is divided from Spain by a narrow strait of about twelve miles, through which the Atlantic flows into the Mediterranean. The co-

lumns of Hercules, so famous among the ancients, were two mountains which seemed to have been torn asunder by some convulsion of the elements, and at the foot of the European mountain, the fortress of Gibraltar is now seated. The whole extent of the Mediterranean sea, its coasts and its islands, were comprised within the Roman dominion. Of the larger islands, the two Baleares, which derive their name of Majorca and Minorca from their respective size, are, in general, subject to Great Britain. It is easier to deplore the fate, than to describe the actual condition of Corsica. Two Italian sovereigns assume a regal title from Sardinia and Sicily. Crete or Candia, with Cyprus, and most of the smaller islands of Greece and Asia, have been subdued by the Turkish arms; while the little rock of Malta defies their power, and has risen, under the government of its military order, into fame and opulence.

This enumeration of provinces, whose broken fragments have formed so many powerful kingdoms, almost induces us to forgive the vanity or ignorance of the ancients. Dazzled with the extensive sway, the irresistible strength, and the real or affected moderation, of the emperors, they permitted themselves to forget the countries which had been left in the enjoyment of independence; and gradually usurped the licence of confounding the Roman monarchy with the globe of the earth. But a modern historian may convey a very just idea of the greatness of the Romans by tracing their extent of empire, which comprised above two thousand miles in breadth, from the wall of Antoninus and the Northern limits of Dacia, to mount Atlas and the tropic of Cancer; it extended in length more than three thousand miles, from the western ocean to the Euphrates; it was situated in the finest part of the temperate zone, between the twenty fourth and fifty-sixth degrees of northern latitude; and was supposed to contain above sixteen hundred thousand square miles, for the most part fertile and well cultivated land.

CHAPTER II.

Freedom of Rome—Colonies and Municipal Towns.

THE narrow policy of preserving without any foreign mixture, the pure blood of the ancient citizens, had checked the fortune, and hastened the ruin, of Athens and Sparta. (1026) The aspiring genius of Rome sacrificed vanity to ambition, and deemed it more prudent to adopt virtue and merit wherever they were to be found, whether among slaves or strangers, enemies or barbarians. During the most flourishing æra of the Athenian commonwealth, the number of citizens gradually decreased from thirty to twenty-one thousand. (1027) On the contrary, the Roman citizens, who, in the first census of Servius Tullius, amounted to more than eighty-three thousand, were multiplied, before the commencement of the social war, to the number of four hundred and sixty-three thousand men, able to bear arms in the service of their country. When the allies of Rome claimed an equal share of honours and privileges, the senate preferred the chance of arms to an ignominious concession. The Samnites and the Lucanians paid the severe penalty of their rashness; but the rest of the Italian states, as they successively returned to their duty, were admitted into the bosom of the republic, and soon contributed to the ruin of freedom. (1028) Under a democratical government, the citizens exercised the powers of sovereignty. But when the popular assemblies were suppressed by the administration of the emperors, the conquering nations were distinguished from the vanquished only as the first and most honourable order of subjects; and their increase, however rapid, was no longer exposed to the same dangers. Yet the princes who adopted the maxims of Augustus, guarded with the strictest care the dignity of the Roman name, and diffused the freedom of the city with a prudent liberality.

(1029) Till the privileges of Romans had been progressively extended to all the inhabitants of the empire, an important distinction was preserved between Italy and the provinces. The former was esteemed the centre of public unity, and the firm basis of the constitution. Italy claimed the birth, or at least the residence, of the emperors and the senate. The estates of the Italians were exempt from taxes, their persons from the arbitrary jurisdiction of governors. Their municipal corporations, formed after the perfect model of the capital, were entrusted with the execution of the laws. From the foot of the Alps to the extremity of Calabria, all the natives of Italy were born citizens of Rome. Their partial distinctions were obliterated, and they insensibly became one great nation, united by language, manners, and civil constitutions, and equal to the weight of a powerful empire. The republic gloried in her generous policy, and was frequently rewarded by the merit and services of her adopted sons. If she had always confined the distinction of Romans to the ancient families within the walls of the city, that immortal name would have been deprived of some of its noblest ornaments. Virgil was a native of Mantua; Horace was inclined to doubt whether he should call himself an Apulian or a Lucanian; it was in Padua that an historian was found worthy to record the majestic series of Roman victories. The patriot family of Cato emerged from Tusculum; and the little town of Arpinum claimed the double honour of producing Marius and Cicero, the former of whom deserved, after Romulus and Camillus, to be styled the third founder of Rome; and the latter, after saving his country from the designs of Catiline, enabled her to contend with Athens for the palm of eloquence.

(1030) The provinces were destitute of any public force, or constitutional freedom. In Etruria, Greece, and Gaul, it was the first care of the senate to dissolve those dangerous confederacies, which taught mankind, that as the Romans prevailed by division, they might be resisted by union. Those princes, whom the osten-

tation of gratitude or generosity permitted for a while to hold a precarious sceptre, were dismissed from their thrones, as soon as they had fashioned to the yoke the vanquished nations. The free states and cities, which had embraced the cause of Rome, were rewarded with a nominal alliance, and insensibly sunk into a real servitude. The public authority was every where exercised by the ministers of the senate and of the emperors; and that authority was absolute, and without control.

"Wherever the Roman conquers, he inhabits," is a just observation of Seneca, confirmed by history and experience. The natives of Italy, allured by pleasure or interest, hastened to enjoy the advantages of victory; and we may remark, that about forty years after the reduction of Asia, eighty thousand Romans were massacred in one day, by the cruel order of Mithridates. These voluntary exiles were engaged, for the most part, in the occupation of commerce and agriculture. For after the legions were rendered permanent by the emperors, the provinces were peopled by a race of soldiers; and the veterans, whether they received the reward of their service in land or money, usually settled with their families in the country, where they had honourably spent their youth. Throughout the empire, but particularly in the western parts, the most fertile districts, and the most convenient situations, were reserved for the establishment of colonies; some of which were of a civil, and others of a military nature. In their manners and internal policy, the colonies formed a perfect representation of their great parent: and, as they were soon endeared to the natives by the ties of friendship and alliance, they effectually diffused a reverence for the Roman name, and a desire, which was seldom disappointed, of sharing, in due time, its honours and advantages*. The municipal cities

* Twenty-five colonies were settled in Spain, and nine in Britain, of which London, Colchester, Lincoln, Chester, Gloucester, and Bath, still remain.

sibly equalled the rank and splendour of the colonies; and in the reign of Adrian it was disputed which was the preferable condition; those societies which had issued from, or those which had been received into, the bosom of Rome.

CHAPTER III.

Influence of Language on national Manners—Latin and Greek Languages—Enfranchisement of Slaves—Their Numbers—Population of the Roman Empire.

(1031) So sensible were the Romans of the influence of language over national manners, that is was their most serious care to extend, with the progress of their arms, the use of the Latin tongue. (1032) The ancient dialects of Italy, the Sabine, the Etruscan, and the Venetian, sunk into oblivion; but in the provinces, the east was less docile than the west to the voice of its victorious preceptors. This obvious difference marked the two portions of the empire with a distinction of colours, which, though it was in some degree concealed during the meridian splendour of prosperity, became gradually more visible, as the shades of night descended upon the Roman world. The western countries were civilized by the same hands which subdued them. As soon as the barbarians were recommended to obedience, their minds were open to impressions of knowledge and politeness. The language of Virgil and Cicero, though with some inevitable mixture of corruption, was so universally adopted in Africa, Spain, Gaul, Britain, and Pannonia, that the faint traces of the Punic or Celtic idioms were preserved only on the mountains, or among the peasants. Education insensibly inspired the natives of those countries with the sentiments of Romans; and Italy gave fashions, as well as laws, to her Latin provincials. They solicited with more ardour, and obtained with more facility,

the freedom and honours of the state; supported the national dignity with letters*, and in arms; and at length, in the person of Trajan, produced an emperor whom the Scipios would not have disowned for their countryman. The situation of the Greeks was very different from that of the barbarians. The former had been, long since, civilised and corrupted. They had too much taste to relinquish their language, and too much vanity to adopt any foreign institutions. Still preserving the prejudices, after they had lost the virtues, of their ancestors, they affected to despise the unpolished manners of the Roman conquerors; while they were compelled to respect their superior wisdom and power†. Nor was the influence of the Grecian language and sentiments confined to the narrow limits of that once celebrated country. Their empire, by the progress of colonies and conquests, had been diffused from the Adriatic to the Euphrates and the Nile. Asia was covered with Greek cities, and the long reign of the Macedonian kings had introduced a revolution into Syria and Egypt. In their pompous courts those princes united the elegance of Athens with the luxury of the east; and the example of the court was imitated, at an humble distance, by the higher ranks of their subjects. The natives of Syria, and especially Egypt, by the use of their ancient dialects, secluded themselves from the commerce of mankind, and checked improvement. The slothful effeminacy of the former exposed them to the contempt, the sullen ferociousness of the latter excited the aversion, of the conquerors. Those nations had submitted to the Roman power; but they seldom desired or deserved the freedom of the city: and it was remarked, that more than two hundred and thirty years elapsed after the ruin of the

* Spain alone produced Columella; the Senecas, Lucan, Martial, and Quintilian.

† The Greek cities make no mention of Virgil or Horace. They seem ignorant that the Romans had any good writers.

Ptolemies, before an Egyptian was admitted into the senate of Rome.

It is a just observation, that victorious Rome was herself subdued by the arts of Greece. Those immortal writers, who still command the admiration of modern Europe, soon became the favourite object of study and imitation in Italy and the western provinces. But the amusements of the Romans were not suffered to interfere with their sound maxims of policy. While they acknowledged the charms of the Greek, they asserted the dignity of the Latin tongue, and the exclusive use of the latter was inflexibly maintained in the administration of civil and military government. The two languages exercised at the same time their separate jurisdiction throughout the empire: the former as the national idiom of science; the latter as the legal dialect of public transactions. Those, who united letters with business, were equally conversant with both; and it was almost impossible, in any province, to find a Roman subject of a liberal education, who was at once a stranger to the Latin and to the Greek language.

It was by such institutions, that the different nations of the empire were insensibly lost in the name of Romans. But there still remained in the centre of every province, and of every family, an unhappy condition of men who endured the weight, without sharing the benefits, of society. In the free state of antiquity, the domestic slaves were exposed to the wanton rigour of despotism. The perfect settlement of the Roman empire was preceded by ages of violence and rapine. The slaves consisted of barbarian captives, taken in thousands by the chance of war, purchased at a low price, accustomed to a life of independence, and impatient to break, and to revenge their fetters*. Against such internal enemies, whose desperate insurrections had more than once reduced the republic to the brink of destruction, the most severe regulations were in

* In the camp of Lucullus, an ox sold for a drachma, and a slave for four drachmæ, or about three shillings.—*Plutarch*.

some measure justified by the great law of self-preservation. But when the principal nations of Europe, Asia, and Africa, were united under the laws of one sovereign, the source of foreign supplies flowed with much less abundance. In their numerous families, and particularly on their country estates, they encouraged the marriage of their slaves. (1033) The sentiments of nature, the habits of education, and the possession of an independent species of property, contributed to alleviate the hardships of servitude. The existence of a slave became an object of greater value; and though his happiness still depended on the temper and circumstances of the master, the humanity of the latter, instead of being restrained by fear, was encouraged by the sense of his own interest. The progress of manners was accelerated by the virtue or policy of the emperors; and by the edicts of Adrian and the Antonines, the protection of the laws was extended to the most abject part of mankind. The jurisdiction of life and death over the slaves, a power long exercised, and often abused, was taken out of private hands, and reserved to the magistrates alone. The subterraneous prisons were abolished; and, on a just complaint of intolerable treatment, the injured slave obtained either his liberty, or a less cruel master.

Hope, the best comfort of our imperfect condition, was not denied to the Roman slave; and if he had any opportunity of rendering himself either useful or agreeable, he might very naturally expect that the diligence and fidelity of a few years would be rewarded with the inestimable gift of freedom.

It was once proposed to discriminate the slaves by a peculiar habit; but it was justly apprehended that there might be some danger in acquainting them with their own numbers. It was discovered, on a very melancholy occasion, that four hundred slaves were maintained in a single palace of Rome. These were all executed for not preventing their master's murder*. The same number of four hundred belonged to an

* Annals of Tacitus, xiv. 43.

estate which an African widow resigned to her son, while she reserved for herself a much larger share of her property. A freedman, under the reign of Augustus, though his fortune had suffered great losses in the civil wars, left behind him three thousand six hundred yoke of oxen, two hundred and fifty thousand head of smaller cattle, and four thousand one hundred and sixteen slaves. Athenæus asserts, that he knew many Romans who possessed, not for use, but ostentation, ten and even twenty thousand slaves.

The proportion of slaves, who were valued as property, was much more considerable than that of servants. The youths of a promising genius were instructed in the arts and sciences, and their price was ascertained by the degree of their skill and talents. A learned slave sold for many hundred pounds sterling. Almost every profession, either liberal or mechanical, might be found in the household of an opulent senator. Many of the Roman physicians were slaves*. These ministers of pomp and sensuality were multiplied beyond the conception of modern luxury. It was more for the interest of the merchant or manufacturer to purchase, than to hire his workmen; and in the country, slaves were employed as the cheapest and most laborious instruments of agriculture.

(1034) The number of subjects who acknowledged the laws of Rome, citizens, provincials, and slaves, cannot now be fixed with such a degree of accuracy, as the importance of the object would deserve. We are informed that when the emperor Claudius exercised the office of censor, he took an account of six millions nine hundred and forty-five Roman citizens, who with the proportion of women and children, must have amounted to about twelve millions of souls. (1035) The multitude of subjects of inferior rank was uncertain and fluctuating. But it seems probable that there existed, in the time of Claudius, about twice as many provincials as citizens; and that the slaves were at least equal in number to the free inhabitants of the

* Dr. Middleton's Life of Cicero.

Roman world. The total amount of this imperfect calculation would rise to about one hundred and twenty millions of persons; a degree of population nearly equal to that of modern Europe, and which forms the most numerous society that has ever been united under the same system of government.

CHAPTER IV.

Roman Monuments—Anecdotes of Herodes Atticus—Temples—Theatres—Columns.

(1036) AMONG the innumerable monuments of architecture constructed by the Romans, how many have escaped the notice of history, how few have resisted the ravages of time and barbarism! And yet even the majestic ruins, still scattered over Italy and the provinces, would be sufficient to prove, that those countries were once the seat of a polite and powerful empire; but they are rendered more interesting by two important circumstances, which connect the history of the arts with the history of human manners. Many of those works were erected at private expence, and almost all were intended for public benefit.

It is natural to suppose, that the greatest number, as well as the most considerable of the Roman edifices, were raised by the emperors; who possessed so unbounded a command both of men and money. Augustus was accustomed to boast, that he found his capitol of brick, and that he had left it of marble. The strict economy of Vespasian was the source of his magnificence. The works of Trajan bear the stamp of his genius. The public monuments, with which Adrian adorned every province of the empire, were executed not only by his orders, but under his immediate inspection. He was an artist; and loved the arts, as they conduced to the glory of the monarch.

They were encouraged by the Antonines, as they contributed to the happiness of the people.

But if the emperors were the first, they were not the only architects of their dominions. Their example was universally imitated by their principal subjects, who were not afraid of declaring to the world, that they had spirit to conceive, and wealth to accomplish, the noblest undertakings. Scarcely had the proud structure of the Coliseum been dedicated at Rome, before the edifices, of a smaller scale, but of the same design and materials, were erected for the use, and at the expence of the cities of Capua and Verona. The inscription of the stupendous bridge of Alcantara attests that it was thrown over the Tagus, by the contribution of a few Lusitanian communities. When Pliny was entrusted with the government of Bithynia and Pontus, provinces by no means the richest or most considerable of the empire, he found the cities within his jurisdiction striving with each other in every useful and ornamental work, that might excite the curiosity of strangers, or the gratitude of their citizens. It was the duty of the proconsul to supply their deficiencies, to direct their taste, and sometimes to moderate their emulation. The opulent senators of Rome and the provincials esteemed it an honour, and almost an obligation, to adorn their country; and the influence of fashion frequently supplied the want of taste and liberality.

(103) Among a crowd of these private benefactors, we may select Herodes Atticus, an Athenian citizen, who lived in the age of the Antonines. Whatever might be the motive of his conduct, his magnificence would have been worthy of the greatest kings. The family of Herod was descended from Cimon and Miltiades; but his grandfather had suffered by the hands of justice, and Julius Atticus, his father must have ended his life in poverty, had he not discovered an immense treasure buried under an old house, the [illegible] remains of his patrimony. According to the rigour of law, the emperor might have asserted his

claim; but the prudent Atticus prevented, by a frank confession, the officiousness of informers; and the equitable Nerva, who then filled the throne, not only refused to accept any part of it, but commanded him to use, without scruple, the present of fortune. The cautious Athenian still insisted, that the treasure was too considerable for a subject, and that he knew not how to use it. "Abuse it, then," replied the monarch, with a good-natured peevishness; "for it is your own." Many will be of opinion, that Atticus literally obeyed the emperor's last instructions; by expending the greatest part of his fortune, which was much increased by an advantageous marriage, in the service of the public. He had obtained for his son Herod the prefecture of the free cities of Asia; and the young magistrate, observing that the Town of Troas was indifferently supplied with water, obtained from the munificence of Adrian three hundred millions of drachms* for the construction of a new aqueduct. But in the execution of the work, the charge amounted to more than double the estimate, and the officers of the revenue began to murmur, till the generous Atticus silenced their complaints, by requesting that he might be permitted to take upon himself the whole additional expence.

(1038) In the commonwealth of Athens and Rome, the modest simplicity of private houses an[illegible] condition of freedom; while the dignity of [illegible] was represented in the majestic edifices dest[illegible] public use; nor was this spirit totally extinguished by the introduction of wealth and monarchy. It was in works of national honour and benefit, that the most virtuous of the emperors affected to display their magnificence. The golden palace of Nero excited a just indignation; but the vast extent of ground, which had been usurped by his selfish luxury, was more nobly filled under the succeeding reigns, by the Coliseum, the baths of Titus, the Claudian portico, and the temples dedicated to the goddess of peace, and the

* About a hundred thousand pounds.

genius of Rome. These monuments of architecture were adorned with the most beautiful productions of Grecian painting and sculpture; and in the temple of peace, a very curious library was open to the curiosity of the learned. At a small distance from thence was situated the forum of Trajan, surrounded with a lofty portico, in the form of a quadrangle. Four triumphal arches formed a noble and spacious entrance. In the centre arose a column of marble, whose height, being one hundred and ten feet, denoted the elevation of the hill that had been cut away. This column, which still subsists in its ancient beauty, exhibited an exact representation of the Dacian victories of its founder. The veteran soldier contemplated the study of his own campaigns; and by an easy illusion of national vanity, the peaceful citizen associated himself with the honours of the triumph. (1039) All the other quarters of the capital, and all the provinces of the empire, were embellished by the same liberal spirit of public magnificence, and were filled with amphitheatres, theatres, temples, porticos, triumphal arches, baths, and aqueducts, all variously conducive to the health, the devotion, and the pleasures of the meanest citizen.

The Romans were uncommonly fond of adorning their houses with pillars, between which they placed statues. A principal part of architecture consists in a knowledge of the different size, forms, and proportions of columns, which are variously denominated from the five orders of architecture, Doric, Ionic, Corinthian, Tuscan, and Composite; that is, composed of the first three. The foot of a column is called the base, and is always made one half of the height of the diameter of the column. That part on which a column stands, is called its pedestal, the top, its chapiter or capital, and the straight part its shaft.

CHAPTER V.

Aqueducts—Baths—The Thermæ, or Hot-Baths of Dioclesian—Anecdote of the Emperor Adrian—A Roman Bath discovered in Cumberland.

(1040) THE aqueducts of Rome deserve our peculiar attention. The boldness of the enterprise, the solidity of the execution, and the uses to which they were subservient, rank them among the noblest monuments of Roman genius and power.

Four hundred and forty years had elapsed, after the building of the city, before water was brought thither by means of an aqueduct, constructed under the direction of the censor Appius Claudius, from whom the water was called Aqua Appia. Its source was eight miles from Rome, in the territory of Tusculum, now Frescati. Till that time, the Romans were contented with the water of the Tiber, and of wells in the neighbourhood. The example of Appius was followed by other public-spirited citizens, and the number of aqueducts was gradually increased.

Agrippa, while he was ædile under Augustus, not only re-established the ancient aqueducts, which had fallen to decay, but also built a new one, to which he gave the name of Aqua Julia. It was fifteen miles in extent. To facilitate the use of the waters which he brought to the city, he made seven hundred basins, one hundred and thirty fountains, and one hundred and thirty reservoirs. All these works were adorned with columns and statues: a destination much more suitable for those master-pieces of art, than being inclosed in the gardens and country-houses of private persons*.

These aqueducts, built of brick, either under ground, or raised upon arches, brought the water to Rome in

* Pliny.

pipes of cast metal, or lead, from the distance of forty, sixty, or a hundred miles. Pliny speaks of them as the admiration of Rome, and of the whole world. "If we consider," says he, "the incredible quantity of water which they have brought to Rome, for the use of the public, for fountains, baths, and fish-ponds; for the use of private families, for gardens and country-houses; if we figure to ourselves the arches, built at a prodigious expense, and carried on for a great length of road, rocks pierced, mountains cut through, and vallies filled up, we shall own that nothing more wonderful has been seen in the world."

Works of such importance and utility deserved the attention and care of government. The celebrated orator, Messala, was appointed overseer of aqueducts and fountains, by Augustus, with proper officers under him, in every department. From that time, the employment was always filled by men of the first rank.

Nerva gave it to Frontinus, who had been prætor in the reign of Vespasian, and whose exploits are extolled by Tacitus. He was a man of solid understanding and sound judgment; and his works contain much information on this subject. "Having been charged," says he, "by the emperor Nerva, with the superintendance of the aqueducts, I was of opinion, that it ought to be my first care to instruct myself in the duties of my office; for in every administration we ought to establish an exact knowledge of what is necessary to do, and what to avoid, as the foundation of our conduct. In a word, what is more shameful and intolerable for a man of sense, than to be guided in his duty by the lessons of subalterns? These officers are necessary; but they ought only to be employed as aids and instruments, under the direction of a chief*." Frontinus at his death, requested that no monument should be raised to his memory; saying, "My memory will last, if my life has been worthy of it."

According to Publius Victor, there were twenty aqueducts in Rome. The waters were collected in

* Frontinus de Aquæductis.

reservoirs, called Castella, and thence distributed in leaden pipes through the city.

When the city was fully supplied with water, they established public baths. In the ancient times of the republic, when the people lived chiefly in the country, they consulted no other rules than those of necessity or pleasure, and sought no other ceremony or apparatus than the choice of fresh and pure water. In process of time, however, they invented many kinds of bathing vessels, the utility of which appeared so great, that not only private persons procured for themselves such household conveniences, but princes and magistrates took care to provide hot and cold baths for the use of the public.

Dion relates in the life of Augustus, that Mecænas was the first who built the hot-baths at Rome. There were public baths previous to that period. Cicero mentions them in his oration for Marcus Cælius; but it appears that they were only of cold water, few in number, and little ornamented. The Romans did not begin early to establish baths; unwilling perhaps to introduce luxury and effeminacy. The baths were at first simple, as we may judge by the description that Seneca gives of the baths of Scipio Africanus, near Linternum, in Campania. "I have great pleasure," says he, in a letter which he dates from that place, "in comparing the manners of Scipio with ours. This great man, the terror of Carthage, the honour and support of Rome, after having cultivated his field with his own hands, went to bathe in this obscure corner; dwelt beneath this humble roof; contented himself with a hall thus coarsely paved. Who is there in our days, that would be contented with such mediocrity? Who does not think himself meanly lodged, if riches and magnificence are not displayed even in his baths?"

Nothing contributed so much to the perfection and increase of these buildings, as the custom they adopted of joining them to the gymnastic exercises of leaping, running, wrestling, throwing the discus or quoit, foot ball, and tennis ball. The prize of leaping was given

to him, who cleared the greatest space of ground at one leap. The design of it was to teach the soldiers to leap over ditches, hedges, and gates. In the foot race, in which they sometimes contended completely armed, he, who first arrived at the goal, obtained the prize.

The concourse of people, from all quarters, to be spectators of these exercises, made the baths indispensably necessary. But it was not until the reign of Augustus, that the Romans began to give them that air of grandeur and magnificence, which we still remark with astonishment in the ruins that remain of them. The enormous extent of these edifices made Ammianus Marcellinus compare them to provinces*. They inclosed within their bounds a great number of apartments, long galleries, porticos, ponds of running water, alleys planted with trees, terraces, gardens, and woods. The most considerable were the baths of Agrippa, built of brick, and enamelled; those of Nero, into which he brought sea-water, and the sulphurous waters of the fountain of Albula, now the baths of Tivoli; those of Caracalla, adorned with two hundred columns, and furnished with sixteen hundred marble seats; (1041) the thermæ, or hot-baths, of Dioclesian, which surpassed all the others in elegance and grandeur, and which still remain entire, serving as a convent for the Chartreux, under the name of *Santa Maria d'Angeli*. Baronius says, that after degrading forty thousand Christians to the condition of slaves, Dioclesian employed them in building these thermæ. He likewise adds, that the emperor ordered them to be massacred, when the work was done.

The first thing that presented itself in these baths, was a great basin, called natatio and piscina, which took up all the north side, and in which they could not only bathe, but even swim, with the greatest ease. Sometimes these large basins were to be met with in the baths of private persons, as in those of Cicero and the younger Pliny. The rich had baths at home, and

* Potius, provinciarum instar, quam ullius ædificii forma.

often very superb, commonly placed near the dining-room; because it was the custom to bathe before the repast, and even to offer it to friends and strangers who were invited.

The edifices of the baths in the thermæ, were generally exposed to the south, and had a very extensive front. The middle part was occupied by the stove-room, or by a great furnace, called hypocaustum, which had to the right and left four rooms, disposed in such a manner, that the company could easily pass from one to the other. These rooms, called in general balnearia, were the stove, the hot-bath, the cold-bath, and the steam-bath.

The different baths formed so many vast and superb halls. That of the hot-bath was twice as large as the others, on account of the great concourse of people who frequented it, and the long stay they made in it. The roofs of these halls were supported by pillars of marble, and the pavement was mosaic. The walls, lined also with marble, were embellished with the finest pieces of painting and sculpture, as well as the galleries and porticos, which served for the wardrobe. Even the places where they kept the oils and perfumes were equally decorated. Statues, pictures, and precious metals, were lavished in these sumptuous edifices.

The vessels and utensils corresponded with the magnificence of the building. The capacious basins, which contained the water, were of marble, oriental granite, and porphyry. Some were fixed, and others moveable. Some were made on purpose to be suspended. In these they joined the pleasure of bathing to that of being balanced and rocked by an easy motion. Caius Sergius Orata, contemporary with Lucius Crassus, the orator, was the first who used these curious baths *.

The revenues annexed to the public baths were so considerable, that the common people were admitted for a trifle. It did not amount to more than the fourth part of an as, or a farthing each. To this the poet alludes, when he says,

* Valerius Maximus.

" Whilst for a farthing bath'd you strut a king*."

On occasion of any public rejoicing, persons of every description were invited to the baths maintained at the expense of the emperors. Titus admitted the common people to bathe with him in the thermæ which he had built: and Alexander Severus mingled with the populace in the public baths, distinguished only by a purple robe.

The Romans began their bathing with hot water, and concluded with cold. In ancient times they were contented with water moderately warm; but when luxury produced effeminacy, they would have it almost boiling. The cold bath, used with success by Antoninus Musa, physician to Augustus, for the cure of that prince, fell into discredit after the death of Marcellus, who made use of it while he perspired. It came again into vogue towards the end of the reign of Nero, by the recommendation of an eminent physician of Marseilles, who disapproved of hot-baths.

As the Romans, while they were in the water, had their bodies rubbed with brushes, that circumstance prolonged the time of bathing. (1042) The following anecdote, respecting this particular, is related of the emperor Adrian, who often bathed in a crowd of the people. One day he perceived an old soldier, who having nobody to do him that office, supplied the want by rubbing his back against the side of the bath. Adrian, who had seen him in the service, asked him the reason of it. It is, answered the old man, because I have no servant. The emperor immediately gave him servants, and settled a considerable annuity upon him. The fame of such an action, which had many witnesses, soon spread through Rome; and the first time that Adrian came to the baths, a number of old men did not fail to repair thither, and to practise the same means, in order to attract the notice and liberality of the prince. He made them all draw near, and instead of treating

* ——— ——— Dum tu quadrante lavatum
Rex ibis ——— HORACE, Lib. I. Sat. iii.

them as he had done the soldier, he contented himself with causing brushes to be distributed among them, desiring them to serve each other.

Many of the poets daily attended the baths, and recited their verses to all who would hear them. Horace, who could hardly be prevailed upon to read his verses among his friends, blames the indiscretion of these scribblers.

" Full many bards the public forum chuse,
" Where to recite the labours of their muse ;
" Or vaulted baths that best preserve the sound,
" While sweetly floats the voice in echoes round.
" The coxcombs never think at whose expense
" They thus indulge the dear impertinence *."

Men of letters assembled there, and found libraries at their service. (1043) Dioclesian caused the Ulpian library to be removed from the temple of peace to the hot-baths which he had built. Some of the literati composed their works in these places of general resort. Suetonius, in the life of Augustus, speaking of the writings of that prince, mentions the epigrams which he had made in the baths. The elder Pliny, while he was preparing to bathe, and after he came out of the water, made a person read to him, and desired his secretary to make extracts of what appeared worthy of remark.

(1044) A Roman bath, of great extent, was discovered at Netherby, in Cumberland, about the beginning of the last century. The hypocaust was supported by fifty-four pillars of solid stone, of which thirty-six were covered with flags. Adjoining to this was another bath, with twenty pillars, and a communication by hollow tiles or pipes. Here were discovered several apartments, and other antiquities, in one thousand seven hundred and forty-five.

* Hor. Lib. 1. Sat. iv.

CHAPTER VI.

Triumphal Arches—Trophies—Bridges.

(1045) AMONG the Romans, triumphal arches were erected in honour of illustrious generals, who had gained signal victories in war. They were at first built of brick or hewn stone, and of a semicircular figure. But when luxury introduced pomp and splendour, they were composed of the finest marble, and of a square figure, with a large arched gate in the middle, and two small arches on each side, adorned with columns and statues, and figures in sculpture.

From the vault of the middle gate, were suspended little winged images of victory, with crowns on their heads, which they put on the victor's head as he passed in triumph. This magnificence began under the first emperors.

(1046) Trophies were spoils taken from the enemy, and fixed upon poles, as signs or monuments of victory. They were usually erected in the place where the enemy was defeated, and consecrated to some divinity, with an inscription. They were much used among the ancient Greeks, who, for a trophy, decorated the trunk of a tree with the arms and spoils of their vanquished foes. They did not, however, repair a trophy when it decayed, to intimate, that enmities ought not to be cherished for ever.

(1047) The Romans called any monument of victory a trophy. Thus the oak tree, with a cross-piece of wood near the top, on which Romulus carried the spoils of Acron, king of the Cæninenses, is called by Plutarch a trophy; and the poets use the same word for victory itself.

(1048) It was reckoned unlawful to destroy a trophy, because it was consecrated to the gods of war. Thus Cæsar left standing the trophies which Pompey had erected on the Pyrenean mountains, after his conquest

of Sertorius and Perpenna, in Spain; but reared, opposite to them, monuments of his own victories.

There are two trunks of marble, decorated like trophies, still remaining at Rome, which were both erected by Marius; the one, upon his defeat of Jugurtha, king of Numidia, and the other, after he had subdued the Cimbri and Teutones.

(1049) The ancient bridges of Rome were eight in number, of which some vestiges still remain. About sixty miles from the city, on the Flaminian way, in the country of the Sabines, there was a bridge of stupendous height and size, built by Augustus, over the river Nar. It joined two mountains, and one of its arches, above a hundred feet high, is still entire.

(1050) But the most magnificent Roman bridge, and perhaps the most wonderful ever seen in the world, was the bridge of Trajan over the Danube. It was raised on twenty piers of hewn stone, one hundred and fifty feet from the foundation, sixty feet broad, and one hundred and seventy feet distant from each other, extending about a mile in length. But this admirable work was demolished by the succeeding emperor Adrian, who ordered the upper part and the arches to be taken down, under pretext that it might not serve as a passage to the barbarians, if they should become masters of it; but in reality, from a much worse motive; because he despaired of being able to raise any work comparable to it. Some of the pillars are still standing.

There was a bridge at Nismes, in France, which supported an aqueduct over the river Gardon, consisting of three rows of arches, of which several still remain entire, and are reckoned among the most elegant monuments of Roman magnificence. The stones are of an extraordinary size, (some of them twenty feet long) and are said to have been joined together without cement, by ligaments of iron. The first row of arches was four hundred and thirty-eight feet long; the second, seven hundred and forty-six; the third and highest, eight

hundred and five; and the height of the three from the water, one hundred and eighty-two feet.

In the time of Trajan, a noble bridge was built over the Tagus, near Alcantara, in Spain, part of which may still be seen. It consisted of six arches, eight feet broad each, and some of them two hundred feet high above the water, extending in length six hundred and sixty feet.

The largest single arched bridge in Europe, is over the river Elaver, in France. It is near the city Brioude, in Avergne, and is called Pons Brivatis, from Briva, the name of the bridge among the ancient Gauls. The pillars stand on two rocks, at the distance of one hundred and ninety-five feet. The arch is eighty-four feet high from the surface of the water.

(1051) Of temporary bridges, the most famous was that of Cæsar over the Rhine, constructed of wood.

The Romans often made bridges of rafts or boats, joined to one another; and sometimes of empty casks or leathern bottles *.

* Lucan's Pharsalia.

CHAPTER VII.

Roman Roads in general—Roads, Camps, and Walls, in Britain—Posts—Communication by Sea.

ALL the cities of the imperial dominions were connected with each other, and with the capital, by the public highways, which issuing from the forum of Rome, traversed Italy, pervaded the provinces, and were terminated only by the frontiers of the empire. If we carefully trace the distance from the wall of Antoninus to Rome, and thence to Jerusalem, it will be found that the great chain of communication from the north-west to the south-east point of the empire, was drawn out to the length of four thousand and eighty Roman miles.

The following itinerary, from Dr. Stukeley, and others, may serve to convey some idea of the direction of the road, and of the distance between the principal towns. From the wall of Antoninus to York, 222 Roman miles; London, 227; Rhutupiæ or Sandwich, 67; the navigation to Boulogne, 45; Rheims, 174; Lyons, 330; Milan, 324; Rome, 426; Brundusium, 360; the navigation to Dyrachium, 40; Byzantium, 711; Ancyra, 283; Tarsus, 301; Antioch, 141; Tyre, 252; Jerusalem, 168. In all 4080 Roman, or 3740 English miles.

(1052) The public roads were accurately divided by mile-stones, and ran in a direct line from one city to another, with very little respect either of nature or private property. (1053) Mountains were perforated, and bold arches thrown over the broadest and most rapid streams. The middle part of the road was raised into a terrace, which commanded the adjacent country, consisted of several strata of sand, gravel, and cement, and was paved with large stones, or in some places, near the capital,

with granite. Such was the solid construction of the Roman highways, whose firmness has not yielded to the efforts of fifteen centuries. (1054) They united the subjects of the most distant provinces by an easy and familiar intercourse; but their primary object had been to facilitate the marches of the legions; nor was any country considered as completely subdued, till it had been rendered, in all its parts, pervious to the arms and authority of the conqueror.

(1055) The Roman military roads, in England, give us the highest idea of those lords of the world. Their vestiges are numerous. One is mentioned by Leland, beginning at Dover, and passing through Kent to London, from thence to St. Albans, Dunstable, Stratford, Towcester, Littleburn, St. Gilbert's hill near Shrewsbury, then by Stratton, and through the middle of Wales, to Cardigan. The great military road, called Hermen-street, went from London to Lincoln, when a branch of it from Pontefract to Doncaster struck out to the westward passing through Tadcaster to York, and from thence to Aldby, where it again joined Hermen-street. Many vestiges of the Roman roads in England serve as foundations to our present highways. The earl of Arundel, the celebrated English antiquary, had formed a plan for describing those which pass through Sussex and Surrey towards London; but the civil war breaking out put an end to the undertaking.

(1056) The remains of many Roman camps are discernible; one in particular very little defaced, not far from Dorchester, near which there is an amphitheatre. Their situations are generally so well chosen, and their fortifications appear to have been so complete, that there is some reason to believe that they were the constant habitations of the Roman soldiers in England; though it is certain, from the baths and tesselated pavements found in different parts, that their chief officers or magistrates lived in towns.

(1057) Roman walls have likewise been found in

England. Upon the borders of Wales, many remains of their fortifications and castles are blended with those of a later date; and it is difficult for the most expert architect to pronounce that some halls and courts are not entirely Roman.

(1058) But the most amazing monument of the Roman power in England, is the wall of (1059) Severus, commonly called the Pict's-wall, which runs through Northumberland and Cumberland, beginning at Tinmouth, and ending at Solway Frith, being about eighty miles in length. The wall at first consisted only of stakes and turf, with a ditch; but Severus built it with stone forts, and turrets at proper distances, so that each might have a speedy communication with the other. This prodigious work, however, was better calculated to strike the Scots and Picts with terror, than to give any real security to the Roman possessions. In some places, the wall, the vallum, and the road, are plainly discernible.

Between the Clyde and Forth in Scotland, the course of the Roman wall, which was first marked out by Agricola, and completed by Antoninus Pius, is still discernible. Agricola's camp, at the bottom of the Grampian hills, is a remain of Roman antiquity. It is situated at Ardoch in Perthshire, and is generally thought to have been the camp occupied by Agricola, before he fought the battle, so well recorded by Tacitus, with the Caledonian king, Galgacus, who was defeated. This is the most entire and best preserved curiosity of that kind in North Britain, having no less than five rows of ditches and six ramparts on the south side; and of the four gates, which lead into the area, three are very distinct.

The Roman temple, an edifice in the form of the Pantheon at Rome, or of the dome of St. Paul's, London, stood upon the bank's of the river Carron, in Stirlingshire, till, in the course of the last century, it was demolished by a neighbouring Goth, to serve some mercenary end. Its height was twenty-two feet, and its circumference at the base was eighty-two feet

so that, upon the whole, it was one of the most complete Roman antiquities in the world. It is thought to have been built by Agricola, or some of his successors, as a temple to the god Terminus, because it stood near the wall which bounded the Roman empire in Britain to the north. Near it are some artificial conical mounts of earth, which are supposed to indicate, that there was a kind of compromise between the Romans and the Caledonians, that the former should not extend their empire farther into the northern regions. The remains of the Roman highways are frequent in the southern part of Scotland.

The advantage of receiving the earliest intelligence, and of conveying their orders with celerity, induced the emperors to establish, throughout their dominions, the regular institution of posts. Houses were every where erected, at the distance only of five or six miles. Each of them was provided with forty horses, and by the help of these relays, it was easy to travel an hundred miles in a day along the Roman roads. In the time of Theodosius, Cæsarius, a magistrate of high rank, went post from Antioch to Constantinople. He began his journey at night, was in Cappadocia (one hundred and sixty-five miles from Antioch) the ensuing evening, and arrived at Constantinople on the sixth day at noon. The whole distance was seven hundred and twenty-five Roman, or six hundred and sixty-five English miles.

The use of posts was allowed to those, who claimed it by an imperial mandate; but, though originally intended for the public service, it was sometimes indulged to the business or conveniency of private citizens. Pliny, though a favourite and a minister, made an apology for granting post horses to his wife, on the most urgent business.

(1060) Nor was the communication of the Roman empire less free and open by sea, than it was by land. The provinces surrounded and inclosed the Mediterranean; and Italy, in the shape of an immense promontory, advanced in the midst of that great lake.

(1061) The coasts of Italy are, in general, destitute of safe harbours. But human industry had corrected the deficiencies of nature; and the artificial port of Ostia, in particular, situated at the mouth of the Tiber, and formed by the emperor Claudius, was a useful monument of Roman greatness. From this port, which was only sixteen miles from the capital, a favourable breeze frequently carried vessels in seven days to the columns of Hercules, and in nine or ten, to Alexandria, in Egypt.

CHAPTER VIII.

Introduction of Foreign Fruits into the Western Countries of the Empire—Flax—Artificial Grass—Arts of Luxury—Foreign Trade—Gold and Silver.

WHATEVER evils either reason or declamation have imputed to extensive empire, the power of Rome was attended with some beneficial consequences to mankind; and the same freedom of intercourse, which extended the vices, diffused likewise the improvements, of social life. In the more remote ages of antiquity, the world was unequally divided. The east was in the immemorial possession of arts and luxury; while the west was inhabited by barbarians, who either disdained agriculture, or to whom it was totally unknown. Under the protection of an established government, the productions of happier climates, and the industry of more civilized nations, were gradually introduced into the western countries in Europe; and the natives were encouraged, by an open and profitable commerce, to multiply the former, as well as to improve the latter.

(1062) Various articles, both of the animal and vegetable kingdoms, were successively imported into Europe, from Asia and Egypt. Almost all the flowers, the herbs, and the fruits, that grow in our European

gardens, are of foreign extraction. The apple was a native of Italy, and when the Romans had tasted the richer flavour of the apricot, the peach, the pomegranate, the citron, and the orange, they contented themselves with applying to all these new fruits the common denomination of apple, discriminating them from each other by the additional epithet of their country.

In the time of Homer, the vine grew wild in the island of Sicily, and the adjacent continent; but it was not improved by the skill, nor did it afford a liquor grateful to the taste, of the savage inhabitants. About a thousand years afterwards, however, Italy could boast, that two-thirds of the most generous and celebrated wines were produced from her soil.

The olive, in the western world, followed the progress of peace, of which it was considered as the emblem. Two centuries after the foundation of Rome, both Italy and Africa were strangers to that useful plant. It was naturalized in those countries, and at length carried into the heart of Spain and Gaul. The timid errors of the ancients, that it required a certain degree of heat, and could only flourish in the neighbourhood of the sea, were insensibly exploded by industry and experience.

(1063) The cultivation of flax was transported from Egypt to Gaul, and enriched the whole country, though it impoverished the particular lands on which it was sown.

(1064) The use of artificial grass became familiar to the farmers both of Italy and the provinces, particularly the lucerne, which derived its name and origin from Media.

Agriculture is the foundation of manufactures; since the productions of nature are the materials of art. Under the Roman empire, the labour of an industrious and ingenious people was incessantly employed in the service of the rich. In their dress, their table, their houses, and their furniture, the favourites of fortune united every refinement of convenience, elegance, and

splendour, and whatever could soothe their pride, or gratify their inclinations.

(1065) Luxury cannot be confined within the limits of an empire. (1066) The most remote countries of the ancient world were ransacked to gratify the pomp and delicacy of Rome. The forest of Scythia afforded some valuable furs. Amber was brought overland from the shores of the Baltic to the Danube; and the barbarians were astonished at the price which they received in exchange for so useless a commodity. (1067) There was a considerable demand for Babylonian carpets, and other manufactures of the east. But the most important branch of foreign trade was carried on with Arabia and India. (1068) Every year, about the time of the summer solstice, a fleet of one hundred and twenty vessels sailed from Myos-hormos, a port of Egypt on the Red Sea. By the periodical assistance of the Monsoons, they traversed the ocean in about forty days. The coast of Malabar, or the island of Ceylon, called Taprobana by the Romans, was the usual term of their navigation; and in those markets the merchants, from the more remote countries of Asia, expected their arrival.

The return of the fleet of Egypt was fixed to the months of December or January; and as soon as their rich cargo had been transported on the backs of camels, from the Red Sea to the Nile, and had gone down that river as far as Alexandria, it was poured, without delay, into the capital of the empire.

(1069) The objects of oriental traffic were splendid and trifling; namely, silk, a pound of which was esteemed not inferior in value to a pound of gold; precious stones, among which the pearl claimed the first rank after the diamond; and a variety of aromatics, which were consumed in religious worship and the pomp of funerals.

The labour and risk of the voyage were rewarded with incredible profit; but the profit was made upon Roman subjects, and a few individuals were enriched at the expense of the public.

(1070) As the natives of Arabia and India were contented with the productions and manufactures of their own country, silver on the side of the Romans, was the principal, if not the only, instrument of commerce. It was a complaint worthy of the gravity of the senate, that in the pursuit of female ornaments, the wealth of the state was irrecoverably given away to foreign and hostile nations. The annual loss is computed by a writer of an inquisitive temper, at upwards of eight hundred thousand pounds sterling*. But if we compare the proportion between gold and silver as it stood in the time of Pliny, and as it was fixed in the reign of Constantine, we shall discover within that period a very considerable increase. There is not the least reason to suppose that gold was become more scarce. It is therefore evident, that silver was grown more common; that whatever might be the amount of the Indian and Arabian exports, they were far from exhausting the wealth of the Roman world; and that the produce of the mines abundantly supplied the demands of commerce.

Notwithstanding the propensity of mankind to exalt the past, and to depreciate the present, the tranquil and prosperous state of the empire was warmly felt, and honestly confessed, by the provincials as well as the Romans. (1071) They acknowledged, "that the true principles of social life, laws, agriculture, and science, which had been first invented by the wisdom of Athens, were now firmly established by the power of Rome, under whose auspicious influence the fiercest barbarians were united by an equal government, and common language." They affirmed, "that with the improvement of arts, the human species was visibly multiplied." They celebrated "the increasing splendour of the cities, the beautiful face of the country, cultivated and adorned like an immense garden; and the long festival of peace, which was enjoyed by so many nations, forgetful of their ancient animosities, and delivered from the apprehension of

* Pliny.

future danger*." Whatever suspicions may be suggested by the air of rhetoric and declamation, which seem to prevail in these passages, the substance of them accords with historical truth.

CHAPTER IX.

Latent Causes of the Decay of Imperial Rome.

IT was scarcely possible that the eyes of contemporaries should discover, in the public felicity, the latent causes of decay and corruption. (1072) Long peace, and the uniform government of the Romans, introduced a slow and secret poison into the vitals of the empire. The minds of men were gradually reduced to the same level, the fire of genius was extinguished, and even the military spirit evaporated. The natives of Europe were brave and robust. Spain, Gaul, Britain, and Illyricum, supplied the legions with excellent soldiers, and constituted the real strength of the monarchy. (1073) Their personal valour remained, but they no longer possessed that public courage, which is nursed by the love of independence, the sense of national honour, the presence of danger, and the habit of command. They received laws and governors from the will of their sovereign, and trusted for their defence to a mercenary army. The posterity of their boldest leaders was contented with the rank of citizens and subjects. The most aspiring spirits resorted to the court or standard of the emperors; and the deserted provinces, deprived of political strength or union, insensibly sunk into the languid indifference of private life.

(1074) The love of letters, almost inseparable from peace and refinement, was fashionable among the subjects of Adrian and the Antonines, who were themselves men of learning and curiosity. It was

* Pliny and Tertullian.

diffused over the whole extent of their empire; the most northern tribes of Britons had acquired a taste for rhetoric; Homer as well as Virgil were transcribed and studied on the banks of the Rhine and Danube; and the most liberal rewards sought out the faintest glimmerings of literary merit.

(1075) Herodes Atticus gave the sophist Polemo above eight thousand pounds for three declamations. The Antonines founded a school at Athens, in which professors of grammar, rhetoric, politics, and the four great sects of philosophy, were maintained at the public expense for the instruction of youth. The salary of a philosopher was ten thousand drachmæ, or four hundred pounds a year. Similar establishments were formed in the other great cities of the empire.

(1076) The sciences of astronomy and physic were successfully cultivated by the Greeks; the observations of Ptolemy, and the writings of Galen, were studied by those who improved their discoveries and corrected their errors; but if we except the inimitable Lucian, the succeeding ages of indolence passed away without having produced a single writer of original genius, or who excelled in the arts of elegant composition. The authority of Plato and Aristotle, of Zeno and Epicurus, still reigned in the schools; and their systems, transmitted with blind deference from one generation of disciples to another, precluded every generous attempt to exercise the powers, or enlarge the limits, of the human mind. The beauties of the poets and orators, instead of kindling a fire like their own, inspired only cold and servile imitations; or if any ventured to deviate from those models, they deviated, at the same time, from good sense and propriety.

On the revival of letters, the youthful vigour of the imagination, after a long repose, national emulation, new languages, and a new world, called forth the genius of Europe. (1077) But the provincials of Rome, trained by an uniform artificial education, were engaged in a very unequal competition with those bold ancients, who, by expressing their genuine feelings in their na-

tive tongue, had already occupied every place of honour. The name of poet was almost forgotten; that of orator was usurped by the sophists. A cloud of critics, compilers, and commentators, darkened the face of learning, and the decline of genius was soon followed by the corruption of taste. The sublime Longinus, who in a later period, and in the court of a Syrian queen, preserved the spirit of ancient Athens, observes and laments this degeneracy of his contemporaries, which debased their sentiments, enervated their courage, and depressed their talents. "In the same manner," says he, "as some children always remain pigmies, whose infant limbs have been too closely confined; thus our tender minds, fettered by the prejudices and habits of servitude, are unable to expand, or to attain that well-proportioned greatness, which we admire in the ancients; who, living under a popular government, wrote with the same freedom as they acted." This diminutive stature of mankind, if we pursue the metaphor, was daily sinking, and the Roman world was in danger of being peopled by a race of pigmies; when (1078) the fierce giants of the north broke in, and changed the face of the empire. They restored a manly spirit of freedom; and after the revolution of ten centuries, liberty became the happy parent of taste and science.

CHAPTER X.

Roman Coins—The As — Quadrans — Obolus — Centussis — Sestertius — Denarius — Drachma — Libra — Mina — Talentum — Aureus Denarius — Solidus—Medallions—Remarkable Instances of Roman Wealth.

(1079) THE Romans, for a long time, instead of coins, made use of brass, which they paid by weight. Numa, their second king, ordered that metal to be cut into pieces of a pound, or *as*, consisting of twelve ounces, without any mark. The piece, in that rough and unpolished form, was called *as rudis*. Their sixth king, Servius Tullius, caused circular pieces of the same weight and value to be made, with the impression of an ox upon them.

(1080) The *as*, or Roman pound, was subdivided into smaller parts, in the following manner. The *deunx* weighed eleven ounces; the *dextans*, ten; the *dodrans*, nine; the *bes*, eight; the *septunx*, seven; the *semis*, or half pound, six; the *quincunx*, five; the *triens*, or third part of an *as*, four; the *quadrans*, or fourth part, three; the *sextans*, or sixth part, two; and the *uncia*, one ounce.

We are informed, that about three hundred and fifty years after the building of the city, the senate, having laid a tax upon the public for supporting the expenses of the war, caused their own proportion, in the gross, to be carried in waggons to the treasury, which was called *ærarium*, from *æs*, brass, the only money at that period.

The Roman coins had at first the full weight, which their names imported. But in the second Punic war, while Fabius was dictator, the *as* was diminished to the weight of one ounce, and afterwards to that of half an ounce.

(1081) The *quadrans* was the smallest brass coin, of the same value as our farthing. The *as* was equal to one penny English. (1082) The *obolus* was equal in value to one penny farthing. The *centussis* was the greatest brass coin, equal to six shillings and three-pence of our money.

The Romans had no other money but brass, till the war with Pyrrhus, five years before the Carthaginian war, when silver was first coined. (1083) The *sestertius* was the least silver coin, equal to one penny and three farthings English. The *denarius* was their chief silver coin, value seven-pence three farthings. The drachma, though a Greek coin, was in use among the Romans; value the same as the *denarius*. The *sestertium*, which was the name of a sum, and not a coin, contained a thousand *sestertii;* value about eight pounds one shilling and five pence halfpenny. The *libra*, or pound, consisted of twelve ounces of silver, or ninety-six *drachmas* or *denarii;* value three pounds English money. The *mina* was originally a Greek coin of the same value. The talent contained twenty-four *sestertii*, and six thousand *denarii;* value one hundred and eighty-seven pounds ten shillings.

The *aureus denarius* was the most remarkable gold coin among the Romans. It resembled our guinea, and was worth about eighteen shillings. In later ages they gave it the name of *solidus;* when it was greatly inferior, both in weight and beauty, to the coins struck under the republic, and the first emperors.

The common proportion of gold to silver, during the commonwealth, was tenfold; but Julius Cæsar got so much of the former precious metal by plundering, that he exchanged a pound of gold for seven pounds and a half of silver.

Besides the ordinary coins, (1084) various medals were struck to commemorate important events, properly called medallions; for the pieces which we commonly denominate Roman medals, were their current money. When an action deserved to be recorded on a coin, it was stamped and issued out of the mint.

(1085) The Romans usually computed sums of money by *sesterces*. Ten *sestertia;* or ten thousand *sestertii*, were equal to eighty pounds. (1086) When *H.S.* is put after a numeral noun, in any of the classical authors, it stands for so many *sestertii*. Thus, (1087) by *Centies H. S.* we are to understand such a number of that coin, as are equal to eighty thousand; by *Millies H. S.* is meant eight hundred thousand pounds; and by *Millies Centies H. S.* eight hundred and eighty-eight thousand pounds. Hence we may form some notion of certain instances on record of Roman wealth. Crassus is said to have possessed in lands to the value of *bis millies*, that is, (1088) one million six hundred and fourteen thousand pounds; besides money, slaves, and household furniture, which may be estimated at as much more. In the opinion of Crassus, no one deserved to be called rich who could not maintain an army. Seneca was worth *ter millies*, or two millions sterling; and Lentulus, the augur, had at his death *quater millies*, or three millions. Though Isidorus lost a great part of his fortune in the civil war, yet (1089) he left by his will four thousand one hundred and sixteen slaves, three thousand six hundred yoke of oxen, two hundred and fifty-seven thousand of other cattle, and *H. S. sexcenties*, or (1090) four hundred and eighty-four thousand, three hundred and seventy-five pounds, in ready money. Augustus received in legacies from his friends, *decies millies*, or (1091) thirty-two millions, two hundred and ninety-one thousand, six hundred and sixty-six pounds. Tiberius left behind him *vigesies septies millies*, or (1092) twenty-one millions, seven hundred and ninety-six thousand, eight hundred and seventy-five pounds, which Caligula squandered away in less than one year.

CHAPTER XI.

Roman Measures of Length — Digitus — Pollex — Palmus — Pes — Cubitus — Passus — Stadium — Measures of Capacity — Amphora — Sextarius — Cyathus — Congius — Culeus — Modius.

THE Romans measured length or distance by feet, cubits, paces, stadia, and miles. (1093) In common with other nations, they derived the names of measure chiefly from the parts of the human body. (1094) *Digitus*, a digit or finger's breadth, was the sixteenth part of a foot; and *pollex*, a thumb's breadth was equal to an inch. *Palmus*, a hand's breadth or palm, measured four digits or three inches; and *pes*, a foot, sixteen digits, or twelve inches. *Palmipes*, was a foot and a hand breadth; and *cubitus*, a cubit, from the tip of the elbow bent inwards to the extremity of the middle finger, was supposed to be equal to a foot and a half. *Passus*, a pace, was reckoned equal to fifty feet. One hundred and twenty-five paces, or six hundred and twenty-five feet, made a *stadium*, or furlong; and eight *stadia*, or one thousand paces, or five thousand feet, were equal to a mile.

(1095) The measure of capacity most frequently mentioned of the Roman authors, is (1096) the *amphora*, called also *cadus*, which contained nine English gallons. The *sextarius* was a pint and a half; and (1097) the *congius* was equal to six sextarii. (1098) A *cyathus*, (1099) like our wine glass, contained about half a quartern.

(1100) The greatest measure for liquids was the *culeus*.

(1101) Pliny says, that the ager cæcubus usually yielded seven *culei*, or one hundred and forty-three

gallons of wine, which (1102) was sold at the vineyard for fifty shillings, or a halfpenny the English pint.

(1103) For dry measure they used the *modius*, being (1104) the third part of a cubic foot, and something more than the English peck. (1105) Five *modii* of wheat were generally sown in an acre; six of barley and beans, and three of pease.

CHAPTER XII.

Roman Calendar — Julian Year — Kalends — Nones — Ides — Dials — Clocks.

(1106) ROMULUS is said to have divided the year into ten months, to which Numa added two more, and adjusted it according to the course of the moon, making it to consist of three hundred and fifty-four days. But as some days were wanting to make the lunar year correspond with the course of the sun, he appointed that every other year, an extraordinary month should be inserted after the twenty-third day of February.

(1107) When Julius Cæsar became master of the state, he abolished the use of intercalations, and regulated the year according to the course of the sun. He likewise assigned to the months that number of days which they still contain. For this purpose, he inserted in the current year, (besides the intercalary month of twenty-three days,) two extraordinary months between November and December, one of thirty-three, and the other of thirty-four days; so that this year, which was called the last year of confusion, consisted of fifteen months, or four hundred and fifty-five days.

These improvements were effected by the care and skill of Sosigĕnes, a celebrated astronomer of Alexandria, whom Cæsar had brought to Rome for that purpose; and a new calendar was formed from his arrangement, digested according to the orderof the

Roman festivals, which was published and authorised by the dictator's edict.

This is the famous Julian or solar year, which continues in use to this day in all Christian countries, without any other variation, than that of the Old and New Style. As the Julian year of three hundred and sixty-five days and six hours exceeds the true solar year by eleven minutes, this excess in one hundred and thirty-one years amounts to a whole day. The council of Nice, in the year of Christ three hundred and twenty-five, appointed the celebration of Easter to be always on the first Sunday after the full moon that came next after the vernal equinox, which was then on the twenty-first of March. (1108) Pope Gregory, however, in the year of our Lord one thousand five hundred and eighty-two, observed that the above-mentioned fault of the Julian year had thrown the equinoxes ten days more backward, than they were at the time of the said council, so that the vernal equinox was then on the eleventh of March. This occasioned great irregularity with respect to the time of celebrating Easter, and consequently all other moveable feasts. The pope, therefore, to correct this error, ordered ten days to be suppressed in the month of October, one thousand five hundred and eighty-two, that so the equinox might be reduced to the twenty-first of March, on which day it fell at the time of the Nicene council. And that this variation might not happen again, it was further ordained, that every hundredth year, which in the Julian account was a leap-year should in this be only a common year, and consist but of three hundred and sixty-five days; but as that was too much, every four hundredth year was to remain a leap-year or bissextile. This reformation of the calendar, under the name of the Gregorian account, or New Style, was immediately adopted in all the Roman catholic countries; but not in Britain till the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-two, when eleven days were thrown out in the month of September.

The Romans reckoned the days of their months by kalends, nones, and ides. (1109) Romulus always began his months upon the first of the moon, and was followed in this by the author of the other accounts, to avoid an alteration in the immoveable feasts; therefore, (1110) every new moon, one of the inferior priests used to assemble the people in the Capitol, and call over as many days as there were between that and the nones. (1111) From this custom, and the Greek verb *kaleo*, the first of these days had the name of Calendæ.

The nones were so called, because they reckoned nine days from the ides.

The ides were generally about the middle of the month, and the word is derived from *iduare*, an obsolete verb, signifying to divide.

The calends were always fixed to the first of every month; but the nones and the ides, in four months, were on different days from the other eight. For March, May, July, and October, had six nones each; the other months only four. Therefore, in the four first, the nones were the seventh, and the ides the fifteenth; in the other months, the nones were the fifth, and the ides the thirteenth.

The Greeks had no calends in their way of reckoning, but called the first day of the month the new moon. When a person had no intention of discharging any debt, he usually said, I will pay it at the Greek calends, that is, never *.

(1112) Before the use of dials was known at Rome, there was no division of the day into hours. The twelve tables only mention sun-rising and sun-setting, before and after mid-day. (1113) Anaximander, of Miletus, is said to have invented dials at Lacedæmon, in the time of Cyrus the Great, and the first dial is said to have been set up at Rome by L. Papirius Cursor, in the four hundred and forty-seventh year after the building of the city. Scipio Nasica, some years after, first measured time by a water clock, or *clepsydra*, which shewed the hours equally by day and night.

* Ad Græcas Kalendas solvam, i. e. nunquam.

(1114) To form an idea of these clocks, we may conceive a pretty large basin filled with water, which, by a little hole contrived in the bottom, emptied itself into another vessel of nearly the same capacity, in the space of twelve hours; and where the water rising gradually, brought up perpendicularly a bit of cork, or the picture of a genius, pointing to the hours, which were marked one above another, on columns or pilasters.

The Romans were ignorant of the use of clocks with wheels, as also of watches.

CHAPTER XIII.

Method of attacking and defending Towns—The Agger or Mount—Catapultæ and Balistæ—The moveable Towers—The Aries or Ram—Vineæ and Testudines—Mines and Countermines.

(1115) THE Romans attacked places either by a sudden assault, or by a blockade. They first surrounded a town with their troops, and by their missive weapons endeavoured to clear the walls of defendants. Then joining their shields in the form of a *testudo* or tortoise, they secured themselves from the darts of the enemy, came up to to the gates, and tried to undermine the walls, or to scale them.

When a place could not be taken by storm, it was invested. Two lines of fortifications or intrenchments were drawn around the place at some distance from each other, called the lines of contravallation and circumvallation; the one against the sallies of the towns-men, and the other against attacks from without.

These lines were composed of a ditch and a rampart, strengthened with a parapet and battlements, and sometimes a solid wall of considerable height and

thickness, flanked with towers and forts at proper distances round the whole.

At the foot of the parapet, or at its junction with the rampart, was a pallisade made of large stakes cut in the form of a stag's horns; hence called *cervi*, to prevent the ascent of the enemy. Before the pallisade, there were several rows of trunks of trees, or large branches sharpened at the ends, called *cippi*, fixed in trenches about five feet deep. In front of these were dug pits of three feet deep, stuck thick with strong sharp stakes, and covered with bushes to deceive the enemy, called *lilia*. Before these were placed up and down sharp iron hooks, called *stimuli*. In front of all these, Cæsar, at Alesia, made a ditch twenty feet wide, four hundred feet from the rampart, which was secured by two ditches, each fifteen feet broad, and as many deep; one of them filled with water. But this was merely a blockade, without any approaches or attacks on the city.

Between the lines were disposed the army of the besiegers. The camp was pitched in a convenient situation to communicate with the lines. (1116) From the inner line was raised a mount, *agger*, composed of earth, wood, hurdles, and stone, which was gradually advanced towards the town, always increasing in height, till it equalled, or overtopped, the walls. The mount which Cæsar raised against Avaricum, or Bourges, was three hundred and thirty feet broad, and eighty feet high.

The *agger* or mount was secured by (1118) towers, consisting of different stories, from which showers of darts and stones were discharged on the townsmen by means of (1117) engines, called *catapultæ*, *balistæ*, and *scorpiones*, to defend the workmen. Of these towers Cæsar is supposed to have erected one thousand five hundred and sixty-one, on his lines around Alesia. The labour and industry of the Roman troops were as remarkable as their courage. (1119) But the most dreadful of all was the battering ram, or *aries*, a long beam, like the mast of a ship, and armed at one end

with iron in the form of a ram's head; whence it had its name. It was suspended by the middle with ropes or chains fastened to a beam that lay across two posts, and hanging thus equally balanced, it was by a hundred men, more or less, who were frequently changed, violently thrust forward, drawn back, and again pushed forward, till by repeated strokes it had shaken and broken down the wall with its iron head. The ram was covered with sheds or mantles, called *vineæ*, (1120) machines, constructed of wood and hurdles, and covered with earth, raw hides, or any materials that could not easily be set on fire. They were pushed forwards by wheels below. Under them the besiegers either worked the ram, or tried to undermine the walls.

Similar to the *vineæ* in form and use were the *testudines*, so called, because those under them were safe as a tortoise under its shell. These mantles or sheds were used to cover the men in filling up the ditches, and for various other purposes.

When the nature of the ground would not permit these machines to be erected, or brought forward to the walls, (1121) the besiegers sometimes drove a mine into the heart of the city, or intercepted the springs of water. When they only wished to sap the foundation of the walls, they supported the part to be thrown down with wooden props, which being consumed with fire, the wall fell on the ground.

In the mean time the besieged, to frustrate the attemps of the besiegers, met their mines with countermines, which sometimes occasioned dreadful conflicts below ground. The great object was to prevent them from approaching the walls.

The besieged also endeavoured to frustrate or overturn the works of the enemy. They withdrew the earth from the mount, or destroyed the works by fires below, in the same manner as the besiegers overturned the walls.

Where they apprehended a breach would be made, they reared new walls behind, with a deep ditch before

them. They employed various methods to weaken or elude the force of the ram, and to defend themselves against the engines and darts of the besiegers. But these, and every thing else belonging to this subject, will be best understood by reading the accounts preserved to us of ancient sieges, particularly of Syracuse by Marcellus, of Ambracia by Fluvius, of Alessia by Julius Cæsar, of Marseilles by his lieutenants, and of Jerusalem by Titus Vespasian.

CHAPTER XIV.

Roman method of writing—Hieroglyphics—Invention of Letters—Plates of Brass—Tables covered with Wax—Leaves and inner Bark of Trees—Papyrus—Parchment—Paper made of Cotton or Silk—The Stylus—Cruptography, or Secret Writing—Stenography or Short Hand.

MEN in a savage state have always been found ignorant of alphabetic characters. The knowledge of writing is a constant mark of civilization. Before the invention of this art, men employed various methods to preserve the memory of remarkable events, and to communicate their thoughts to those at a distance.

The memory of important events was preserved by raising altars, or heaps of stones, planting groves, instituting games and festivals, and by historical songs.

(1127) The first attempt towards the representation of thought was the painting of objects. Thus, to represent a murder, the figure of one man was drawn stretched on the ground, and of another with a deadly weapon standing over him. When the Spaniards first arrived in Mexico, the inhabitants gave notice of it to their emperor Montezuma, by sending him a large

cloth, on which was painted every thing they had seen.

(1123) The Egyptians first contrived certain signs or symbols, called hieroglyphics, in which they represented several objects by one figure.

(1124) The Egyptians and Phœnicians contend about the honour of having invented letters. Cadmus, the Phœnician, first introduced them into Greece, about fifteen hundred years before Christ. They were brought into Latium from Greece by (1125) Evander; and were nearly of the same form with the Greek.

(1126) The most ancient materials for writing were stones, upon which the decalogue, or ten commandments, and the laws of Moses, were inscribed. Then plates of brass and wooden tables were used. On these all public acts and monuments were preserved. When this useful art became more common, (1129) they wrote upon leaves, or the inner bark of trees; hence *folia*, leaves of paper, and *liber*, a book. Afterwards linen, and tables covered with wax, were used. About the time of Alexander the Great, paper first began to be manufactured from (1128) an Egyptian plant or reed, called *papyrus*, from which our word paper is derived.

The *papyrus* was about ten cubits high, and had several coats or skins above one another, like an onion, which they separated with a needle. One of these membranes was separated on a table, and another above it. Several sheets thus formed, and moistened with the muddy water of the Nile, which served instead of glue, were put under a press, and after that dried in the sun.

(1130) The exportation of paper being prohibited by one of the Ptolemies, out of envy, against Eumenes, king of Pergamus, who endeavoured to rival him in the magnificence of his library, the use of parchment, or the art of preparing skins for writing, was discovered at Pergamus, hence called *pergamena*, parchment. The skins of sheep are properly called parch-

ment; those of calves, vellum. Most of the ancient manuscripts are written on parchment.

Egypt having fallen under the dominion of the Arabs in the seventh century, and its commerce with Europe being stopped, the manufacture of paper from the papyrus ceased. (1131) The art of making paper from cotton or silk, was invented in the east about the beginning of the tenth century; and in imitation of it, from linen rags in the fourteenth century. Coarse brown paper was first manufactured in England, in one thousand five hundred and eighty-eight, and paper for writing and printing, in one thousand six hundred and ninety; before which time, one hundred thousand pounds had been paid annually for those articles to France and Holland.

(1132) The instrument used for writing on waxen tables, and the leaves or bark of trees, and plates of brass or lead, was an iron pencil with a sharp point, called *stylus*, or *graphium*. Hence *stilo abstineo*, I forbear writing. They wrote on paper or parchment; with a reed sharpened and split in the point like our pens, called *calamus*; which they dipt in ink.

The ordinary writing materials of the Romans were tablets covered with wax, paper, or parchment, (1122-33) Their *stylus* was broad at one end; so that when they wished to correct any thing, they turned the *stylus*, and smothered the wax with the broad end, that they might write it over again. (1136) *Sæpe stylum vertas*, or make frequent corrections, is the advice of Horace. An author while composing usually wrote first on these tables, for the convenience of making alterations; and when any thing appeared sufficiently correct, it was transcribed on paper or parchment, and published. It seems one could write more quickly on waxen tables than on paper, as the hand was retarded by frequently dipping the reed in ink.*

The labour of correcting was compared to that of working with a file. Alluding to some of his compositions, Ovid thus expresses himself. *Ultima lima*

* Quinctilian.

deficit meis scriptis: The last polish is wanting to my writings.

(1134) The Romans commonly wrote on one side of the paper or parchment, and always joined one sheet to the end of another, till they had finished what they had to write, and then rolled it upon a cylinder or staff; hence *volumen*, a volume or scroll. An author generally included only one book in a volume; consequently, there was the same number of volumes in a work, as of books. (1135) Thus Ovid calls his Metamorphoses, *mutatæ ter quinque volumina formæ*, or fifteen volumes of changed forms.

(1137) The Romans usually carried with them small writing tables, called *pugillares*, on which they marked down any thing that occurred, either with their own hand, or by means of a slave, called from his office, *notarius*. These tablets were of an oblong form, made of citron, boxwood, ivory, or parchment, and covered with wax. They contained several leaves, with a small margin, raised all around, as may be seen in the models of them which still remain. They wrote on them with a stilus; which, as they never wore a sword or dagger in the city, they often, upon a sudden provocation, used as a weapon. Hence probably the stiletto of the modern Italians.

(1138) What a person wrote with his own hand, was called *chirographus*, which signifies one's hand writing; and (1139) when a book was all written by its author, and not by a transcriber, it was called *autographus*.

(1140) A writ conferring any exclusive right or privilege was called *diploma*, because it consisted of two leaves written on one side. It was granted by the emperor, or any Roman magistrate, to public couriers, being similar to what we call letters patent, and open to the inspection of every one.

(1141) All kinds of writings were called *literæ;* an expression, however, most frequently applied to epistolary compositions. (1142) But *litera* commonly signifies a letter of the alphabet.

(1143) The Romans, in the time of Cicero, divided their letters, if long, into pages, and folding them in the form of a little book, tied them round with a thread, and covered the knot with wax, or with a kind of chalk, and sealed it. In writing letters, they always put their own name first, and then that of the person to whom they wrote. They annexed the letter S. for *salutem dicit;* by which they meant the same as we do, when we present our compliments, or wish our friend good health. The last word of the epistle was *vale*, farewel. They never subscribed their name, but sometimes added a prayer for the prosperity of the person to whom they wrote; as *Deos obscero ut te conservent:* It is my earnest prayer that God may preserve you.

(1144) When Decimus Brutus was besieged by Antony at Mutina, Hiritus and Octavius wrote letters on thin plates of lead, which they sent to him by means of divers, and received his answers by the same conveyance. Appian mentions letters inscribed on leaden bullets, and thrown by a sling into a besieged city or camp.

(1145) Julius Cæsar when he wrote to any person what he wished to keep secret, always made use of the fourth letter after that which he ought to have used; as D for A, and E for B. (1146) Augustus used the letter following, as B for A, and C for B. So that those only could understand the meaning who were instructed in their method of writing, to which they gave the name of *cruptography.*

(1147) The Romans had slaves or freedmen who wrote their letters, some of whom were so well skilled in stenography, or short-hand, that they could write as fast as one could speak.

*Currant verba licet, manus est velocior illis.**

"Although your words like torrents flow,
"My hand is swifter still."

* Martial.

Narcissus, the secretary of Claudius, and Pallas, the comptroller of his household, acquired great wealth and power by their ingenuity and abilities.

CHAPTER XV.

Education of the Roman Youth—Eloquence—Advocates—Accomplishments of the Roman Ladies.

(1148) THE education of youth varied among the Romans according to the times and manners. Adapted to the hard and laborious life, which they led in early ages, it became softer and more delicate in proportion to the progress of luxury, and the refinement of taste. When the arts and sciences began to be encouraged, the highest attention was bestowed upon the culture of the mind. Young people were taught to give diligent application, in order to acquire useful knowledge, and every elegant accomplishment, which could render them shining ornaments of the state, or amiable members of society.

While the Romans were only engaged in arms and agriculture, in the toils of war, and those of the country, these two objects formed the principal part of the education of youth.

(1149) The cares of infancy devolved on the mothers, who nursed their own children, and did not abandon them to the conduct of their slaves and freed-women. The custom of employing nurses was not established among them, till idleness, and a taste for pleasure, got the better of maternal affection.

(1151) As the children advanced in age and strength, the fathers initiated them in the toils of husbandry, the handling of arms, and the exercises of war. They instructed them in the laws and manners of their

country, being anxious to make them good citizens, good soldiers, and good magistrates.

Previous to the laws of the twelve tables, the Romans had very few written laws, and none but the patricians had any knowledge of them: most of the citizens could neither read nor write. (1150) The brazen nail, which was every year fixed to the temple of Jupiter, had been invented to supply the want of learning to the people, who were so ignorant, as to know the date of the year only by the number of these nails.

But when a taste for the arts and sciences was acquired by the Romans from the Greeks, and their manners were more civilized, intellectual improvement, bodily exercises, address, and politeness, became the objects of tuition at Rome.

Some ancient masters were of opinion, that, before the age of seven years, children were incapable of any sort of discipline; others with more propriety asserted, that the culture of the mind ought always to keep pace with the improvement of manners; that three years were sufficient for nurses; and that children should begin to be instructed as soon as they could speak.

Great attention was paid to the purity of the language by which children were to receive instruction; because their first habits were necessarily formed from these early seeds of purity or corruption. Thus, the two Gracchi were thought to owe their eloquence to the instructions of their mother Cornelia, a lady of extraordinary politeness, and whose letters were read and admired a long time after her death for the elegance and purity of their style.

(1152) Those who went with young gentlemen to the academies, were called pedagogues, that is conductors of children, a Greek word, adopted by the Latins. By attending their young masters, some of them acquired sufficient instruction to be constituted domestic preceptor. Hence, persons charged with the care of instructing youth, received the name of pedagogues.

(1153) It was the custom of great men at Rome to entertain at their houses, some philosopher, or learned Grecian, with the liberty of keeping open school for such young patricians, as wished to be taught with their children. They did not depend upon these teachers alone for the whole care of education: their parents frequently assisted in it. "Cato, the censor," says Plutarch, "instructed his son in letters, grammar, and law; taught him to dart the javelin, to exercise his arms, to support heat and cold, and to swim through the most rapid rivers. He wrote histories for him, in large characters, that, before he entered into the world, he might be acquainted with the great men of the republic, and their most glorious actions, to form himself upon these excellent models; and always attentive to purity of manners, he was as careful to avoid every word which might have the slightest tendency to offend against decency, in the presence of his child, as if he had been before the vestal virgins."

(1154) The exercises of the body, wrestling, boxing, throwing the quoit, running, riding, driving the chariot, darting the javelin, leaping ditches, swimming through rivers, in a word, whatever might increase strength and agility, form the youth for war, and give him dexterity in arms, made an essential part of a liberal education.

(1155) But morals were their principal object, and the attention, they gave to them, began very early. At the birth of a child, they committed it to the conduct of some matron among their relations, whose chief care was to form the first habits; to watch over its rising passions, and to direct its inclinations; and in proportion, as children advanced in age and in reason, they inured them to discipline, and inspired them with precepts supported by example, with sentiments of virtue and probity, of generosity and disinterestedness, of justice and fidelity: and above all, they applied themselves to engrave on their hearts those principles, which, among the Romans, formed the character of a

true citizen; veneration for God, submission to parents, love of their country, and zealous attachment to the constitution, liberty, and laws.

After having gone through the studies of childhood, young people put on the *toga virilis*, or manly robe. This change, which freed them from the authority of their tutors, was to them an occasion of extraordinary joy. They were introduced into the forum, where the general assemblies were held, where the magistrates harangued the people, and where the most important causes were pleaded. This place was the school of eloquence; it was the scene where the interest of the empire was discussed, the source of private fortunes, and of public hopes.

(1156) They were then put under the special protection of some senator, celebrated for his eloquence, and his skill in the laws of the republic. These senators directed them by their counsels, and instructed them by their example. The young Romans, sensible of the honour conferred on them, carefully collected all that fell from the lips of such able and respectable monitors.

(1157) Under their tuition, young men were made perfect in the knowledge of the laws, which they were obliged to commit to memory. This knowledge was so necessary for attaining employments, that youth paid as much attention to the laws of the twelve tables, as they did to the poets and other classical authors.

Deep skill in jurisprudence was hereditary in many Roman families, who, by giving their advice gratis when they were consulted, conciliated the favour and attachment of the citizens, and acquired considerable authority in public affairs.

They acquired eloquence by study and exercise. (1158) There were at Rome Greek and Latin schools, where they accustomed young people to compose and declaim in both languages; a practice necessary to a nation which had received all its learning from the Greeks, and highly proper to keep up a commerce with their masters, that they might not relapse into

ignorance. They sent the young men of quality to Athens, accompanied by learned tutors. There, they became acquainted with the manners of the most polished and civilized nation in the world; imbibed good taste at its source; and studied the fine arts, in their native soil. They sent them also to Marseilles, where they acquired (1159) a knowledge of the sciences and polite literature. Young people went thither from all countries, and were instructed in grammar, rhetoric, poetry, history, medicine, mathematics, and astronomy.

(1160) To complete their education, the young patricians attended the tribunals, and the pleadings of the most celebrated orators, that they might be qualified for the bar, and plead the causes entrusted to them with ability. It was an ancient establishment of Romulus, who charged patrons with the defence of their clients, without any emolument, which could bear the name of salary. Thus, the same voices which commanded the people, were also employed in defending them. Romans of the highest distinction, from patriotic motives, devoted their time and talents to the service of their fellow-citizens, as the protectors of innocence and virtue. We must not imagine this generosity to be so disinterested, that the patrons proposed no advantage from it; it was the instrument of their ambition. They gave their labour to the people, and the people acquitted themselves of that debt, by conferring on them those honours and employments which depended on their suffrages.

(1161) But when the right of electing their magistrates was taken away by the emperors, the people, seeing themselves without patrons to defend their causes, entrusted them to such citizens as they thought most eloquent and best skilled in the law. This was the origin of the profession of advocates.

(1162) Claudius was the first who permitted the advocate to receive a salary to the amount of sixty pounds for one cause; but all above that sum was deemed extortion. (1163) Under Trajan, the senate

made a decree, which obliged the parties to swear, before their cause was pleaded, that they had neither given nor promised any thing to their advocates.

These laws were not made to deprive honest counsellors of the just fruit of their labours, but (1164) to check the mean avidity of those, who, for the sake of sordid lucre, disgraced so honourable a profession. Tacitus says, that they made a shameless traffic of their engagements, and that their treachery was offered to sale. (1165) Juvenal, in his seventh satire, tells us, that many of them were clothed in purple, and fared sumptuously every day; that they sported superb carriages, were attended by a numerous train*, and displayed brilliant rings at the bar, in order to be thought extremely rich, and make their employers pay the dearer for their service.

"The luxury of Rome will know no end;
"For still the less we have the more we spend;
"Trust eloquence to show our parts and breeding;
"Not Tully now could get ten groats by pleading;
"Unless the diamond glitter'd on his hand
"Wealth's all the rhetoric clients understand†."

(1196) The education of females was at first confined to the interior economy of the house, such as needle-work and spinning; in which mothers instructed their daughters. (1197) But when a taste for the arts and sciences prevailed at Rome, education took a larger scope. To the care of forming their manners, and regulating their appearance, was united that of cultivating and adorning their minds. The Greek and Latin languages, eloquence and philosophy, were equally familiar to them.

(1168) Juvenal, in his satire against female pedants, ridicules them for speaking so much, in mixed com-

* An ordinance of Charlemagne, extracted from Nauclerus, forbids lawyers, when they go to plead, to be attended by more than thirty horses.

† Dryden's Juvenal.

pany, on subjects of literature and criticism. "They engross the conversation with philosophical niceties, and logical syllogisms. They are extravagant in the praises of Virgil. They weigh in the same balance, the merit of that poet, and the glory of Homer. They find excuses for Dido, even when she stabs herself." (1169) But there were others, who without making a parade of their learning, or affecting to conceal it, knew how to join to the modesty and graces peculiar to the sex, a taste for letters, and the beauties of a cultivated mind. Cornelia, daughter of Cinna, and first wife of Julius Cæsar, excelled in the epistolary style. Her letters are quoted by Cicero, and Quintilian. She was fond of the sciences and languages, and spoke her own with great purity. This was evident in the conversation of her children who were distinguished for their eloquence.

Appian has preserved the discourse which Hortensia, the daughter of Hortensius, the orator, pronounced in public, before the triumvirate. They had taxed fourteen hundred ladies of the greatest fortune and quality, to levy troops against Brutus and Cassius. At the head of her companions she dared to plead the cause of her sex before this tribunal, where men durst not raise their eyes, nor open their mouths; and she obtained, by her eloquence, that the number of the ladies taxed should be reduced to four hundred.

Cicero in his epistles, commends Cerellia, an ingenious and learned lady, for devoting a considerable part of her time to books and philosophy. He took delight in her conversation and writings. He speaks with honour of the Roman ladies, who had the greatest taste for elegant learning and polite language. In order to distinguish himself in the art of eloquence, he employed his leisure hours in their company. Thus, while he took the lessons of Scævola, the augur, he often conversed with the accomplished Lælia, whose discourse, according to his own testimony, was tinctured with the elegance of her father Lælius the most polished orator of his age, and so fine a poet, that he is said to have assisted Ter-

assist in the composition of his comedies. He had the same correspondence with Mucia, the daughter of Lælia, who married the celebrated orator L. Crassus; and with the two Licinias, who excelled in that delicacy of language, which was peculiar to their family.

Such was the laudable attention paid by the Romans to the education of youth, that Rome produced not only many brave, wise, and learned men, but also ingenious, virtuous, and aimable women.

FINIS.

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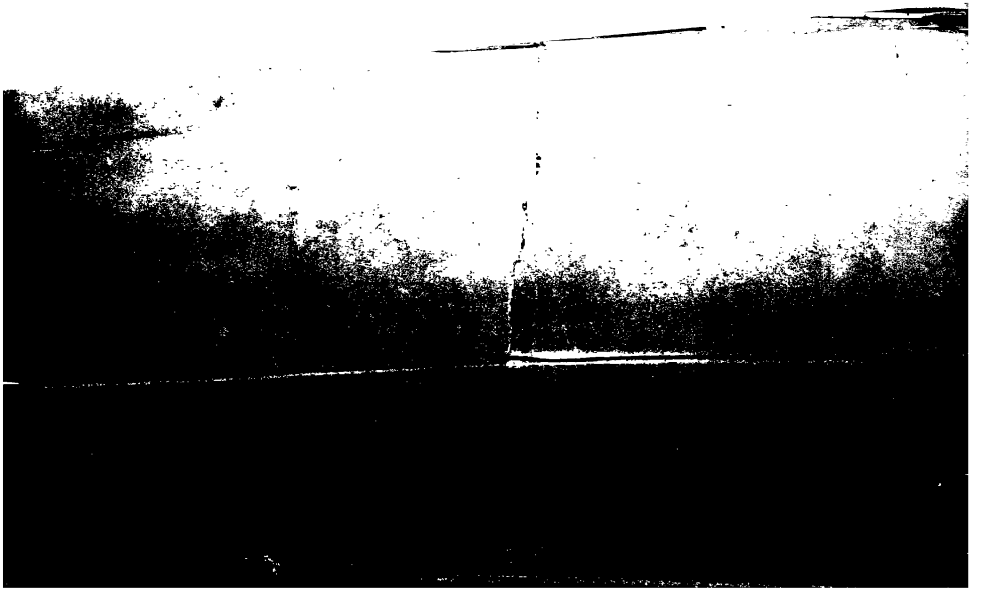
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THE

ROMAN HISTORY

FROM THE

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TO THE

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AND

THE TAKING OF CONSTANTINOPLE BY THE TURKS,

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INCLUDING

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